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ABSTRACT

This document records proceedings of the joint hearings on the Child and Family Services Act, 1975 (bills S.626 and H.R.2966). Included are witnesses' testimony of June 19, 1975, statements presented, and additional information (including related publications and communications). (SB)

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# CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT, 1975

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## JOINT HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY, AND MIGRATORY LABOR

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

## S. 626 and H.R. 2966

TO PROVIDE FOR SERVICES TO CHILDREN AND THEIR FAMILIES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

JUNE 19, 1975

PART 8

Printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
and the House Committee on Education and Labor

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| p. 1571-1584 | "Slogans, Slots, and Slander: The Myth of Day Care Need." Arthur C. Emlen. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry; v43 n1 January 1974 |
| p. 1585-1614 | "Day Care for Whom?" Arthur C. Emlen. Chapter in Children and Decent People. Ed. Alvin L. Schorr (Basic Books, 1974) |
| p. 1671-1683 | "Infant Obedience and Maternal Behavior: The Origins of Socialization Reconsidered." Donelda J. Stayton, and Others. Child Development; v42, 1971, p. 1057-1069. |
| p. 1744-1753 | "Effects of Group Rearing Conditions during the Preschool Years of Life." Hanus Papousek. In Education of the Infant and Young Child. Ed. Victor H. Denenberg. 1970. |

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# CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT, 1975

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THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1975

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH AND THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY,
AND MIGRATORY LABOR OF THE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE;
AND THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION,
OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m. in Room 4232, New Senate Office Building, Senator Walter F. Mondale presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale, Buckley, Javits, and Stafford; Representatives Brademas and Chisholm.

Senator MONDALE. The meeting will come to order.

This morning we are pleased to have Congressman Gunn McKay as our first witness in the proceeding.

## STATEMENT OF HON. GUNN McKAY, A.M.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

Mr. McKAY. Senator, I am pleased to be here and commend you particularly for opening the subject of the family as a vital interest in this country as the base on which our country has been developed and built. I am pleased to appear here.

I am convinced that many of the social problems we now face are a result of family breakdown and weakened family ties and will not be solved without achieving quality family life.

The strength of the Nation clearly depends on the strength of the family, in my opinion.

Sadly, actual patterns of life in America today are undermining the family. Society has dangerously downgraded the importance of the family, and parents are spending less and less time with their children.

Even some of our Government programs designed to combat problems build substitutes for families rather than strengthening families and their ability to solve these problems.

I am submitting two written statements today. One was prepared last summer as an overview of the Child and Family Services Act and of family problems generally. Through an oversight it was not included in the hearing record last year.

The second statement is a more detailed analysis of day care and a refinement of some of my recommendations, and I will only highlight major points today in reference to the two statements, or to the documentation.

Senator MONDALE. Very well. They will be included in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Mr. MCKAY. First, where at all possible, institutional day care centers should be avoided and should not be encouraged.

When deprived of maternal care, the child's development is nearly always retarded physically, intellectually, and socially.

There is ample evidence that infant children placed in institutional care centers frequently have lasting psychological and sociological damage.

Senator MONDALE. Do any of those studies go toward day care or are they toward the long-term hospital, institutional——

Mr. MCKAY. I think they——

Senator MONDALE. The ones you have referred to.

Mr. MCKAY. I think the ones we referred to in recent times—the early ones in the 1970's, as I recall, were to the long-term situation, but I think there is recent evidence that indicates that any breakup of that maternal—depending on what degree—of that maternal association in younger years, particularly up to three, can have impaired damage, because the parents——

Senator MONDALE. Do those studies go to day care?

Mr. MCKAY. They go to day care, yes.

Senator MONDALE. Can you refer us to those studies?

Mr. MCKAY. I have referred to them in the documented statements, so they are documented there, the studies and by whom, and I have a list of them on the back.

Senator MONDALE. It is in your——

Mr. MCKAY. It is in the statement that I submitted that you provide for the record, so they can be checked out for authenticity and relevance.

Such children in these institutionalized conditions develop fear and anxiety and react poorly to strangers in larger numbers.

The socialization process is weakened, which has been to the contrary belief, as children are forced into peer-group settings, particularly in the younger age.

They develop pessimism about the future, negative attitudes about themselves and their friends, irresponsibility, and antisocial behavior, of course, is the outcome.

Now, having been in the classroom myself—I spent 5 years in the classroom at junior high school and high school levels, and I taught in the poorer section of the community where we had minorities of all types as well as the poorer classes. I noticed that children who did not have a good maternal relationship didn't think anybody cared. I could get their attention in class—it would not necessarily be trouble at the moment—but I was not getting anywhere. It was like you pulled a blind down.

And you could tell whether there was a fight going on at home—that is, you could not read that unless you got into a discussion with them afterward—so that the home played a primary role, not only in the infant years but in the secondary school years.

And this little example happened: A child came in one day and said, "Nobody cares about me."

I said:

> What do you mean? Your mother is working her heart out trying to buy you everything.

All she is trying to do is buy me off. Sure, I have money. I got what I need, but I have not got her.

Well, she is at home only an hour less than when you are there. What is wrong with that? She cares.

No, she does not. When she is home she is just geared up to get away from me again.

So there is some real concern, as I have had in my own experience in the educational field.

Where possible, the mother or father should be encouraged to stay home to care for the young children, particularly the young.

Where real financial hardship is present, we may be better off amending welfare with legislation to encourage rather than penalize low-income parents, especially single parents who wish to remain with their children in their homes or who wish to work only part-time in order to care for the children more directly.

Perhaps gainful employment should be provided in the home as has been tried in some cases. I do not suppose that is totally practicable throughout the country, but that type of thing ought to be encouraged.

I realize that some parents, especially single parents, have no choice under present circumstances but to work. In such situations, family day care arrangements such as relative care or neighborhood home care, where a limited number of children are cared for, is better for the child than institutional day care.

Available evidence indicates that most private day care arrangements are more satisfactory than critics contend. Family day care should be given preference over institutional care in the bill.

Second, I strongly believe that family service programs should be home based, not center based. In other words, rather than use institutions to solve problems, we should use families to solve problems.

Good programs should supplement the family, not supplant it.

Available data demonstrates that the success of children's development is positively correlated with the degree to which parents were actively involved in the program and accorded high status in the eyes of their children.

A good example of the home center concept is the Home Start program, which is an alternative method of delivering the Head Start program. Trained professionals go into the home and teach parents basic child-rearing skills as well as how to meet basic nutritional health needs, and I think that is the place most people, I think, from what studies we have, indicate that most parents will want to learn those skills rather than duck them off.

But if you give an incentive to a given institution, as was shown in Czechoslovakia and other areas, the tendency is to expect the State to take care of their kids over a period of time.

We had a little example in my community where we had a scandal with food commodities of the welfare recipients winding up in garbage cans—blocks of cheese, rice, and other commodities. We placed a requirement—and I was on the welfare board—that they would have to take an instructional course some two evenings a week or so with the school cooks. Immediately the problem cleared up.

It became obvious that the parents did not know how to cook other than by opening a can or whatever and, therefore, they did not know how to use the commodities that were given them. So an educational thing is preferable.

Programs funded by grants should be home based to the greatest extent possible and this should be reflected both in the criteria for grants and in the evaluation program.

Third, I advocate a coordinated research effort on the problems facing American families. Research needs to be undertaken to study the impact of Federal programs and regulations on families.

The Joint Economic Committe study on public welfare, also known as the Griffiths report, documented that some present welfare laws tend to fragment the family and no doubt many other Government programs adversely affect the family in many ways that perhaps we do not perceive at the moment.

For the Federal Government to embark on extensive child services programs without sufficient knowledge of family needs may impede the very thing we are trying to do.

Fourth, I think pilot programs should be used to encourage schools to provide courses in family relations and parental skills, in both junior and senior high schools. Our schools should prepare our children for life, but they do little to prepare students for the only role which will be played by nearly everyone, that of being in the family.

There are some pilot programs which I am sure the Senator may be aware of, some of which rest in my own State.

I appreciate this opportunity, Senator, and I agree with the general direction you are taking. We need to be careful on the bill so we do not entice—as you know, the carrot on the stick will entice and create—when we have given grants to cities and States, it has not solved their problems. It has only made them more dependent on the Federal Government for more funding, and I would rather discourage that and give them a solution.

Parenthood is not easy, and to give a simple solution is not the answer, but, rather, assist them with their difficulty.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Congressman.

I agree wholeheartedly with the importance of families and about pursuing national policies which at the very least do not put pressures on families and hopefully might even help.

And, as you know, our legislation does deal with home care assistance, as well as day care centers.

I am somewhat dubious about the strength of the literature you cited, although I agree that there is some, concerning adverse psychological impact upon children in good day care centers. I think there is a good deal of literature about hospitals where children have been institutionalized for quite a while, kept from their parents, and that sort of thing.

I am not sure how strong that literature is.

Second, I think there is an enormous problem here that is not going to go away. Over 50 percent of the mothers in America now work, and we have 6 or 7 million single-parent families that are very poor. Most of these parents work. It is not an option for them.

Now, the other thing is to make an option for them. It is called AFDC. Try to get some money for it. As soon as you get a good appropriation for AFDC, you come on over here so we can do something—I mean, we cannot get any money.

So we say, "You should not work and leave your kids behind, but we will not leave you any money so you can stay home," and so these families are in a terrible bind and that is what we are trying to grapple with on the committee.

Mr. McKAY. And I agree with you. What I am saying is that the ideal, of course, is parental care and if you take a child out of the home—I think the evidence will show—and you put someone else as a total substitute for that parent, you can be successful, but as you shift the child from this parental home to this condition, particularly in the first 3 years, you impair his ability to associate and form attachments in those maturation periods which are vital to our balance.

If you take those apart and just emphasize the intellectual, accordingly to what I read, you need to keep that somewhat in balance—their motor skills and those of all develop at least to an age level above 3 to 6. If you adjust them otherwise, those gains that you get are lost in the long term and you really have not gained much.

If you take the maternal instinct, that is, if you take a child from its natural parents and give it another parent who takes that total role, yes, I think you can succeed, but I do not think you can do it in an institution because you cannot get that close, motherly, secure parental feeling in the child.

You are not dealing with blocks of wood. You are dealing with human feelings and emotions which relate—and we see all kinds of those erupted on the couches of psychiatrists across the country, and at some point we need to adjust those.

And my argument is: "Look, sure we recognize there are some cases that will not fit in the mother-stay-home condition, father stay-home condition," and there has to be some adjustment, but it seems to me that we ought to emphasize the priority and not encourage the other.

One is that we ought to encourage and make possible through AFDC or whatever—as a member of the Appropriations Committee, I recognize that and press for it, too, but ——

Senator MONDALE. Good luck.

Mr. McKAY. But the priority, in my opinion, is to put the maternal and substantially allow that and encourage it to remain. Then move into these others, the family day care, the neighborhood day care, and last of all the institutional conditions.

Senator MONDALE. There is a tremendous economic problem here that will not go away, and there is a reason why these single parents and both parents are working. Single parent families average $6,000 a year and that is not exactly "plush." The single parent family not working averages $4,000. And I challenge anybody to have any kind of minimum decent life at $4,000 a year in the city today. It is impossible.

So they want to work. They have to work. And what is going to happen to the kids? That is what we have to deal with and that is why we have been thrashing around with it.

Mr. McKAY. I agree, but I just argue that institutionalizing them may be defeating the long-term purpose.

I think there is a statement here by a professor that we may get some short-term and get the people working and that may save us a little money, but down the road we may reap a harvest that is a little too rough.

And I agree that we need to provide some means by which they can survive, whether AFDC or something else. My opinion is I would rather let them stay home and pay them to stay home, if I had my choice. I realize that is not a reality.

Senator **Mondale**. Good for you. Thank you.

Senator Javits.

Senator **Javits**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just came to get the feeling and the course of the hearings, and I wish to express as a major sponsor to Senator Mondale's bill my appreciation to him for the work that he is doing so intensively, going into this subject. These hearings are the only way in which need can be properly exposed and the fundamental thrust of the bill appreciated. I am very grateful.

I notice also, Senator, that we have a good many major experts from New York, including a man I consider—he is in the room talking to somebody else at the moment—I consider him, Dr. Bronfenbrenner, to be one of the, if not the leading authority on this subject.

Senator **Mondale**. I agree.

Mr. **McKay**. Whom I have quoted in my material.

Senator **Javits**. Thank you, kind sir.

[The prepared statements of Mr. McKay follow:]

# STATEMENT OF REP. GUNN MCKAY

Joint Hearings on the Child and Family Services Bill
Before the House Select Education Subcommittee
and the Senate Subcommittees
on Children and Youth, and Employment, Poverty,
and Migratory Labor.

I am pleased that the importance of the family is receiving renewed attention in Washington, as evidenced by these joint hearings. Families are our most important social unit and it is essential that we focus our attention on the problems which interfere with healthy family life.

There is no substitute for a healthy family. We have never discovered any other way to produce responsible human beings except through the family. Families are the most significant stabilizing influences in society, the most effective means of transmitting values, and are the key agency of socialization. The reason that the family can do the socialization job as well is because the internalization of certain fundamental norms of right and propriety depends upon natural affection and the need for familial approval which makes socialization ultimately possible. When the family breaks down, social control by external means, political and social, becomes much more difficult. Many of the social problems we now face are the result of family instability and weakened family ties and will not be solved without achieving quality family life. The strength of our nation clearly depends on the strength of the family.

Sadly, actual patterns of life in America today are such that families often come last. Present government programs often tend to fragment and undermine the family. Society has dangerously downgraded the most important work of all--that of being good parents. Fathers and mothers are spending less and less time with their children. Four out of ten marriages this year will end in divorce.[1] The percent of children living in divorced families has almost doubled in the last decade.[2] The result of this family breakdown is increasing alienation, negativism, teenage alcoholism and drug abuse, delinquency, violence, youthful runaways, crime, suicide and unhappiness.

We must reorder our priorities at all levels of American society so that families come first.[3] This should be a major concern of all institutions--government, business communities, schools, and churches. Most importantly, individual parents must make stronger commitments to place their families first in their lives. In this reordering process, there is a limit to which the federal government can constructively do. Indeed, in dealing with something as individual and private as the family, federal involvement should be used with great care, never circumventing essential family freedoms. There are, however, important things which the federal government should do to assist and promote healthy family life.

In proposing the Child and Family Services Act, the sponsors are attempting to provide solutions to some serious problems facing a number of American families. There is much to commend in the proposal. The statement of findings and purposes properly recognizes that "the family is the primary and the most fundamental influence on children" and suggests that "child and family service programs must build upon and strengthen the role of the family." By creating an Office of Child and Family Services to administer the Act and to assume the responsibilities of the Office of Child Development, the Act makes a useful reorganization. Coordination which could be provided by the proposed Child and Family Services Coordinating Council is badly needed. Some of the service programs contemplated--such as family counseling, prenatal care, nutritional services, treatment of various medical, physical and mental problems of children--are necessary. Also important is the guarantee of voluntary participation in programs and the involvement of parents in the planning of programs.

Despite these worthwhile proposals, I have two basic criticisms of the bill. First, although the bill professes to "build upon and strengthen the role of the family," several features of the bill are contraproductive to this goal. I believe that too often social programs, in attempting to solve specific problems, build substitutes for the family rather than assisting the family to help the person in need when that is possible. I think this is often the case with day care centers and headstart programs, which receive heavy emphasis in the bill.

I have already alluded to the consequences of children and parents spending less and less meaningful time together. During the first six years of life, particularly the first three, the one-to-one relationship between parent and child is especially important for the child's development. As parents spend less and less time with their children, these children are placed in or gravitate to peer group settings. These children tend to be pessimistic about the future, negative about themselves and friends, rate lower in responsibility and leadership, and are more likely to engage in antisocial behavior. The more serious manifestations are reflected in rising rates of youthful runaways, school dropouts, drug abuse, suicide, delinquency, vandalism, and violence.[4]

Despite these findings, the Act would place heavy emphasis on programs which take children out of the home. I realize that in some cases both parents may have to work, or the head of a single parent household may have to work, but this should be discouraged when there are still young children at home. Already one in three mothers with children under six are working outside the home[5] and the number of children enrolled in day care centers doubled between 1965 and 1970.[6] Welfare legislation should be amended to encourage rather than penalize low income parents, especially single parents, who wish to remain in their homes or work only part-time in order to care for their children.[7] To force a mother from a home where the father is already absent is to invite further costs to society in delinquency, crime, drug abuse, and remedial education.[8] Day care centers are no substitute for the family and cannot compensate for inadequate mothering or substitute for continuing stimulation within the home. Programs, in which child development aides visit the child's home, work with the mother, and help her provide a more growth-promoting environment for the infant, need further exploration.[9]

The commendable objective behind headstart programs is to take children from economically deprived homes, who have an environmentally acquired learning disadvantage, and 'catch them up' with other children. Again, however, to remove the child from home at too early an age may have more disadvantages than advantages. Several studies indicate that early school learners actually drop behind other later starting students after a while. Many researches are now saying that at a certain age, development at home is more important than an educational development at a school or a pre-school situation. Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Cornell University, concludes that both parent education and children group programs and home tutoring were unsuccessful, but programs working with parent and child simultaneously, usually in the home, were quite successful. The success of the programs were positively correlated with the degree to which parents were accorded high status and actively involved in the program. When primary responsibility for the child's development was assumed by professionals and the parent relegated to a secondary role, the intervention was less effective.[10]

A second criticism is that I do not believe that the proposed legislation goes far enough to elevate the importance of the family as a unit in American society.

The proposed programs are designed to alleviate some real needs of some economically disadvantaged children and parents, but there is insufficient emphasis on the need to strengthen families as a whole throughout all of American society. In making this criticism I realize that this bill is not intended to solve all family problems, but I do think that it could be amended to meet larger areas of need. I make the following recommendations to provide several potential amendments to the Act and to serve as a springboard for discussion of what else can be done, both in and out of government. Some of the legislative ideas I intend to incorporate in a bill for introduction next year. Most of these recommendations have been previously discussed in the hearings before the Subcommittee on Children and Youth and the White House Conference on Children.

What is needed is a national effort, a campaign if you will to emphasize the importance of the family. Congress could set the example by passing resolution declaring that the family is the most important unit of a free society and that it is national policy to promote the stability and well-being of the American family. The federal government could seek to persuade other institutions to adopt policies conducive to healthy family life. Other institutions -churches, business, communities, schools, media, civic groups, and of course families--are essential to this effort. Perhaps a national family holiday would help bring a proper focus

In federal legislation and policy, insufficient priority is given to the family, and most programs to help children are not family centered. In fact some programs, in an attempt to alleviate problems, are hurting the family. This needs to be reversed. I support the idea of the creation of an Office of Child and Family Development within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (it would assume the functions of the existing Office of Child Development). The Office would serve as an advocate for the family within the federal government. As such, it would have the responsibility to monitor the impact of federal programs and regulations on the family and make appropriate reports thereon to Congress and the Executive. The Office would also be charged with administering important family programs and coordinating federal policy with respect to the family. Finally, the Office would be responsible for research on family problems.

For its part, Congress should also monitor legislation for its impact on the family. Committee reports should include a discussion of the effects of legislation on the family if there will be a significant impact.

Schools, perhaps with incentive from the federal government, should provide courses in family education. We say our schools are to prepare our children for life, but do virtually nothing to prepare students for the only role which will be played by nearly everyone--being a member of a family. Required courses in human development and family relations should be made available for girls and boys in both junior and senior high school.

Leaders of the advertising industry should join with representatives of the mass media to develop and give wide exposure to a nationwide campaign designed to enhance the status of families in American life, to provide concrete examples of family-oriented activities and programs, and to show how much activities can be fun for both children and their parents.[11]

I believe these actions would reap positive benefits, but it must be recognized that there is a limit to what the federal government, as well as other institutions can do. More importantly, parents must make the decision to put their families first. Supporting assistance from other institutions, such as government, is necessary, but ultimately the greatest effort must be put forth by families if the trend of family disintegration is to be reversed.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973*, Before the Subcommittee on the Children and Youth of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 93rd Congress, 1st Session, at 181 (1973) (Hereinafter *Hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973*.)

2. *Hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973*, at 135.

3. *White House Conference on Children*, at 243 (1970).

4. *Hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973*, at 135.

5. *Ibid*, at 140.

6. *Ibid*, at 139.

7. *Ibid*, at 174.

8. *Ibid*, at 105

9. *White House Conference on Children*, at 173 (1970).

10. *Hearings on American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973*, at 163.

11. *White House Conference on Children*, at 250 (1970).

## STATEMENT OF REP. GUNN McKAY

**Joint Hearings on the Child and Family Services Bill**
**Before the House Select Education Subcommittee**
**and the Senate Subcommittees**
**on Children and Youth, and Employment, Poverty,**
**and Migratory Labor**

June 19, 1975

### MAYBE DAY CARE ISN'T THE ANSWER

Millions of women across the United States are increasingly breaking away from their homes and status as "house wife" in search of outside employment. Statistics show that from 1940 to 1972, the number of women in the labor force more than doubled, from 13.8 million to 32.9 million. The number of working mothers has also increased from 1.5 million to almost 13 million. As a result, today's working parents are faced with the new responsibility of arranging adequate child care for their youngsters. It is not surprising then, that demands for expanded day care and other government sponsored child care programs have recently been echoing throughout the Congress. The debate on day care, however, should not focus only on freeing mothers for employment, but also on the consequences of institutionalized care to children and their families.

We are, undoubtedly, witnessing an immense social change in this country. However, the implication of this new era to the family and society as a whole are still uncertain and obscured. One of the problems lies with the lack of sufficient research regarding the family and its ability to withstand mounting outside pressures. Much of the information we do have indicates that the effects of institutional day care centers on children and their families is harmful. Yet, the social climate seems to favor jumping rashly into a nationally supported day care program. Dr. Craig Peery, Assistant Professor for the Department of Family and Child Development at Utah State University, has compared this to using massive doses of x-ray to treat tonsillitis. He says we might achieve some short range benefits (like reducing pressure from militant mothers), but 20 years from now we are likely to find we have created cancer in our children, but this time, cancer of the personality.

We should no longer construct or evaluate policy for children's programs on the basis of tentative research and questionable assumptions. Dr. Edward Zigler, in testifying before the Senate Finance Committee, admitted that, "We do not know nearly as much as many experts say we know." Dr. Zigler was a former director of the U. S. Office of Child Development and is now a professor of psychology and director of the child development program at Yale University. Dr. Dale Meers, who is also a highly qualified and widely recognized authority on day care concurs with this opinion. He believes, "that given the present state of our ignorance about psychiatric damage, massive day care programs appear all too much like Pandora's box." His advice to all those who think day care is unproblematic is to review the literature. (e.g. Escalona and Leitch, 1952; Skeels, 1964; Mcv. Hunt, 1964; Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965; A. Freud, 1965)

Experts in the field are far from unanimous in their recommendations regarding day care. There are those who are not only skeptical about the alleged virtues of day care, but who think it is harmful to both the family and child. Others are worried about exorbitant costs and government intrusion into personal liberties and matters concerning the family. For the Federal government to embark on an extensive program of day care now, given the extent of controversy among experts, seems to me unwise and premature.

Evidence of damaging implications does already exist. Experts have claimed that excessive emphasis on institutionalized child care may be damaging to children's psychological development and well-being. Doctors say the early years are especially critical and agree that for an infant, day care has more cons than pros. Dr. Laskin, a faculty member in the Department of Psychiatry at Downstate Medical Center, Brooklyn, thinks it is best that a child learn to trust one person and identify with one person in the early years. "Otherwise, as a teenager, he may not trust anyone."

A frequently quoted source in the field of child development, John Bowlby, holds a similar view. Dr. Bowlby works with the Institute of Human Relations in London and is President of the International Association for Child Psychiatry. He maintains that many of the commonest disturbances of attachment "are the results of too little mothering, or of mothering coming from a succession of different people." And these disturbances "can continue for weeks, months, or years--or may be permanent." Says Bowlby, "nomerous direct studies make it plain that when deprived of maternal care, the child's development is almost always retarded--physically, intellectually, and socially--and that symptoms of physical and mental illness may appear. . . and that some children are gravely damaged for life." One example of such mental illness to which Bowlby refers is anaclitic depression. This is a universal phenomenon that toddlers suffer when separated from mothers for any appreciable length of time (Spitz, 1946). Other researchers, like Dr. Eleanor Galenson, director of the psychiatry department's nursery division at Einstein College, also support Bowlby's theories and suspect that adolescent physical ailments are the result of fear and anxiety rooted in the group situation of day care. Regarding day care specifically, Bowlby says, "Day care is a rather dangerous procedure which is almost certainly very extensive and very mistaken."

Studies by Dr. Mary Ainsworth, Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, seem to corroborate with those of Bowlby. In a study done at John Hopkins it was found that after just 5 months in a day care center, 20 toddlers, ages 2 to 3, exhibited more signs of anxiety than had a similar group reared at home. Dr. Ainsworth was involved in another study of children in which they took 1-year-olds and sent them through separation episodes of less than 9 minutes. Then, upon repeating the episode, they found that a significant degree of anxiety was experienced by the child. Two weeks later they subjected the same children to the same testing and found the anxiety levels even higher on separation. This tends to suggest that the child does experience anxiety with separation from that home environment.

Results from a study done at Syracuse University reveal that early day care experience may slow acquisition of some adult cultural values. One possible explanation given for this is that substitute care impedes socialization in general. Bowlby (1973) and others (Blehar, 1973; Stayton, Hogan, and Ainsworth, 1971) also suggested that the repeated separations that attend substitute care lead to disruption of the mother-child relationshp, which in turn hinders the socialization process.

A child development specialist at Einstein College believes that an infant placed with numerous others in a center may begin to react badly to large numbers. This may also carry over to later life and cause an inability to adapt to group situations. Inherent here also is the fact that depersonalization can readily take place in institutions. This is always a chronic potentiality in group care of children.

Another psychiatrist strongly opposed to day care centers is Dr. Judith Kestenberg, a director of the Social Center for Parents and Children in Long Island. She objects to making an infant adapt to two different worlds, the familiar home and the day care center. Furthermore, developmental anomalies are likely to occur in proportion to the extent that the rearing environment differs from the original "environment of evolutionary adaptiveness," according to Dr. Bowlby. The "environment of evolutionary adaptiveness" essentially means the home.

A "common-sense" justification of day care supporters has recently been refuted. They believed that children who are exposed to a variety of adults would affiliate more readily with strangers than those sheltered and raised in the nuclear family. However, it was found that day care children are more avoidant of strangers. Two researchers, Tizard and Tizard (1971) found that young children reared in residential nurseries were more afraid of strangers than home-reared children. Similerly, Heinicke and Westheimer (1965) also discovered that during a separation, children were highly fearful of persons they had seen only months before. The clinical experience to date does provide dramatic evidence of the apparent psychological damage incurred in early and prolonged institutional care.

Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, Professor of Human Development and Family studies at Cornell University, states that as parents, especially mothers, spend more time at work and community activities, children gravitate to peer group settings. This, in turn, fosters pessimism about the future, a negative attitude about themselves and friends, irresponsibility, and antisocial behavior.

Still other observers have found even more alarming results. They believe day care to be aiding to the fragmentation and eventual breakdown of the family because it builds a substitute for the family. Day care takes away some important family responsibilities. Up until recently, the emotional, psychological and physical rearing of children was considered the province of the family. Now, many parents have left this responsibility to institutions such as day care. Parents and children are spending less and less meaningful time together. This is especially significant because evidence shows that human beings who grow up most stably, self-reliant and cooperative, are those who throughout infancy, childhood, and adolescence have had constant parental affection and support in times of stress.

In light of these and similar findings, how can we advocate support of day care without more thorough research? Certainly, we need to probe deeper into these allegations of family disintegration from day care before we can intelligently decide to substantially increase funding for day care facilities. We just don't know enough about the effects of generalized institutional child care on the family or future society to rationally support a national program. Much of the evidence we do have suggests that institutionalized day care would be harmful to the children which it is supposed to serve.

I believe the family should have primary responsibility for child rearing, and that we should intervene only when the family is unable to meet their obligations. As Dr. David Crane, a psychiatrist from Indiana puts it, "If the family-oriented school of thought loses the argument on Capitol Hill, so too, will the vast majority of American families who strive to rear their children in an atmosphere of personal attention, love and respect, and not consign them to concessions of strangers whose interests are primarily business."

I realize that some parents, especially single parents, have no choice but to work and therefore must make some arrangements for child care. It would be wise in this regard to amend welfare legislation to encourage rather than penalize low income parents, single parents in particular, who wish to remain in their homes or work only part-time in order to care for their children. Where child care services must be provided--alternatives to institutional day care should be fully explored. One alternative is to have another adult family member attend to the child in their own home. The value of the "extended family" and in having an aunt, grandmother, or other relative care for a child can, in fact, strengthen the family unit. This arrangement, although most psychologically beneficial to the child, is obviously not available to many families.

A similar approach receiving considerable attention lately is "family day care." Under the family day care system, one trained child-care specialist takes several children into her home for half or full-day periods. This method lessens the emotional strain of a strange environment and at the same time, provides a central figure for attachment and stability. I believe that family day care is closest to the child's experience in his own family because a child has the opportunity to form a continuous relationship through the day with the family day care mother or father. Available evidence indicates that most private family day care arrangements are quite satisfactory and are much better than critics contend.

What American children need is a combination of good family life and supplemental services that help them grow in a family setting. There are many things that can be done through the family. If the family is to retain its important place in society, then we must make a concerted effort to institute these programs which reinforce the family and its influence to American society. The available evidence indicates that home-based programs are more economically feasible, as well as highly beneficial. We should not be building substitutes for the family. Good programs supplement the family, not supplant it.

Assistance should be made to the family to help that person in need--inside of their own home. Scientific evidence clearly names the home as the superior early educational and psychological environment. Therefore, programs in which child development aides visit the child's home, work with the mother, and help her provide a more growth-promoting atmosphere should receive greater emphasis. "Home Start" is one of these such programs. Aides supply through home visits, educational, health, nutritional, and social services directed toward enabling children participating in the program to attain their maximum potential. The healthier child care programs are essentially family-oriented and keep the child in close proximity with a home environment. Dr. Bronfenbrenner found that the success of children's development programs were positively correlated with the degree to which parents were accorded high status and actively involved in the program. When primary responsibility for the child's development was assumed by professionals and the parent relegated to a secondary role, the programs were less successful.

Today's problems of child care must be investigated and researched to find a more suitable, healthy approach. We cannot continue to pressure the American family in ways that will seriously threaten its ability to function as our society's primary socialization unit. We have to learn more about the behavioral aspects of families if we are to continue building a viable and stable society for tomorrow. There are still some basic questions about men's psychological and social development, especially in the family context that remain unanswered. We now need this information to meet the needs of present, as well as future families' child care problems and to fight against family disintegration. Therefore, I advocate development of a coordinated research effort on the living patterns and needs of American families and households. We also need to improve and develop as fully as we can, the science of evaluating these programs. To quote Dr. Sheldon White, professor of psychology at Harvard University, "Research is needed to more definitely understand the potential and present effects of day care on children. In its absence, substantial investment in developmental day care appears inadvisable."

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Senator MONDALE. Congressman Mitchell—maybe it would be better if you would take the middle seat. We want to see you.

## STATEMENT OF HON. PARREN J. MITCHELL, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MARYLAND

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. Chairman, Senator Javits, I welcome this opportunity to appear before you today.

First of all, I would like to introduce one person who is here. This very charming lady, Mrs. Mary Robinson, who is the coordinator for early childhood education for the Maryland State Department of Education.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you. I think she has testified for us some time ago.

Mr. MITCHELL. Let me, from the outset, say that I am a cosponsor of the Brademas bill and what is in essence the Brademas/Mondale legislation.

However, a situation has come up which requires that I introduce a bill, which I have so done, despite my enthusiastic support and cosponsorship of the Mondale/Brademas legislation.

You have copies of my testimony before you, and I know that time is of the essence.

Senator MONDALE. I will put your full statement in the record as though read, and you can emphasize as you wish.

Mr. MITCHELL. Fine. My legislation is the bill, H.R. 5702, the "Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act." It authorizes the expenditure of $150 million for school-based educational programs for 4-year-old children in the 50 States and outlying areas.

Each State's entitlement would be determined by the number of 4-year-olds in the State so that the ratio of the State's allocation to the total funds appropriated would be equal to the ratio of the number of the State's 4-year-olds to the total number of 4-year-olds in the States and outlying areas.

The bill is specific in detailing such things as the necessity of parent participation in program planning and other aspects which I feel are necessary to ensure quality education.

I need not go into all of the testimony about the necessity of early childhood education. You have had many witnesses before you. I think the fact is well established that learning does not begin at 6 or 7, whenever we put children in school. It really begins at a very early stage of a child's life.

When I introduced my bill, some members of the House expressed confusion as to why the bill was needed. The confusion largely arose from the possibility of a conflict between my bill and the Brademas-Mondale legislation, and I am particularly concerned over the perception of such conflict. Therefore, let me attempt to more clearly outline the intent of my bill, the "Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act."

As you are aware, Senator, on July 1, 1975, the first phase of a two-phase consolidation of titles III and V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act will take—will go into effect.

As you may also be aware, many, if not most, State departments of education have been giving funding assistance to innovative preschool educational programs, and they do so under the authority of title III. The funding of such programs is modest, but represents at least an attempt to begin to address the need for early childhood education.

It is now my fear and the fear of many of these State departments of education that the consolidation of titles III and V will bring pressures to bear on that new pool of funding which is no longer or will no longer be subject to the restrictions of the current title III funding, and my further fear is that those pressures will push early childhood education out of the picture.

I will be the first to admit that the new programs, the new pressures, will be for good programs, programs for the handicapped and other such programs, and I think they have political clout and I think they are desirable, but my fear is that the modest amounts of money that the States now have going into early childhood education will sort of be forced into these other programs which have more political clout.

I think the Brademas-Mondale legislation will, when it is passed—and I do hope that it is passed—effectively address the problem of establishing early childhood education programs. However, many of the State departments of education, Texas, for example, and my own State of Maryland, West Virginia, have requested an interim measure—and that is what my bill is, an interim measure, a bill calling for just modest funding solely for the fiscal year 1976 to enable the current level of State assistance to continue under the funding levels of more comprehensive legislation will become effective.

Senator MONDALE. And that money would be earmarked for preschool children; that might be day care, it might be something else; is that right? But it would be for the education of children at age 4?

Mr. MITCHELL. No; that's not quite right. What I am talking about is essentially educational programs right now which are being administered by the various State departments. We are not referring specifically to——

Senator MONDALE. The idea is not to create anything new, but keeping in being programs that now exist?

Mr. MITCHELL. That is right. Not to close the door pending—on such efforts pending the passage of the legislation.

Senator MONDALE. Because you think much of that is being crowded out of title III now, and you think it has disappeared.

Mr. MITCHELL. That is my fear. When you consolidate the two titles, as I indicated earlier, there will be great pressures to deal with, let us say, the handicapped, the mentally retarded, and so forth.

Senator MONDALE. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL. Just one other point I would like to make, and then I am finished—by the way, I asked permission to insert two documents in the record, one from the State superintendent of schools in Maryland, Dr. Sensenbaugh; and one from Dr. Percy Williams, Assistant State Superintendent of Schools of Maryland.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much. Both will appear following your testimony.

Mr. MITCHELL. In conclusion, I just want to indicate that I do not construe my bill in any way to be a substitute for or a detraction from the Brademas-Mondale "Child and Family Services Act," and I fully support the expeditious passage of that act.

There is something that is not in my written statement that I would like to address myself to for just a moment, and that is the current controversy that apparently is beginning to develop, if it is not fully flowered, between the public schools and various nonpublic school entities, community groups and so forth, as to who should really have control over early childhood education, and I would like to make my position very clear on this.

I do not believe that the public schools should be the sole, exclusive agent for preschool education. I am absolutely convinced on the basis of my experience as a former director of an antipoverty program and other experiences similar to that that community groups, when fully funded, when fully supported, and fully staffed, can carry on a very effective program of preschool education without direct reliance on the public schools.

My feeling that there is the necessity for everyone to be involved in this, and I do not want anyone to assume that I believe that the public schools are to be the sole and exclusive agent.

There is one other problem with preschool education—quite frankly, my bill does not deal with the problem because it is an interim measure, but I do not think we ought to go into preschool education without considering all of the other implications, the necessity for day care centers for working mothers as was spoken to earlier, the necessity for looking at perhaps some of the industrial plants that are developed or are in the process of developing in order to insure that they might have a day care component which had preschool education involved.

In short, what I am saying is that I do not think that preschool education can be isolated out as one tiny, little area. It has to be looked at in a totally comprehensive fashion as is addressed in your bill.

Senator MONDALE. Well, what we tried to do, instead of making these judgments in Washington, or let us say, Baltimore, we designed the bill to obtain maximum local participation through parent participation. Some communities may want just home care; some communities may not want anything; others may want day care; others may want a heavy education, but we leave that decision basically to the parents whose children are affected. That is the idea behind our bill.

Mr. MITCHELL. And I obviously agree that that is a very good idea, but I would have to enter one minor caveat, one minor concern. When I was the director of a community action center in Baltimore we attempted to establish day care centers. It took me 1 year to open up the first day care center.

The problem was the conflict between the public schools and the private citizens' groups as to who would run day care centers because of the educational component involved, so even though you allow decisions to be made at the local level, there are still some problems associated with this.

And, frankly, I would like to see something in your bill to suggest—perhaps in even more strong terms than you do suggest—that community groups which are not a part of public schools or private schools systems were the contenders for funds for early education.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you.

Senator Javits.

Senator JAVITS. Thank you very much, Mr. Mitchell. I appreciate what you have said, especially your own personal dichotomy in respect to these bills.

Mr. **Mitchell.** Thank you.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you. It is a very useful statement and we are very grateful to you.

Mr. **Mitchell.** Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Mitchell and other information referred to follows:]

## STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE PARREN J. MITCHELL (D-7TH-MD.) AT THE JOINT HEARINGS BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION AND THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH ON THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 1975, 9:30 A.M., 4232 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

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MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEES, I KNOW THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE FOR THIS HEARING. THEREFORE, I SHALL MAKE ONLY A VERY BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT, SO THAT MY COLLEAGUES WHO ARE TO TESTIFY WILL HAVE SUFFICIENT TIME AND ALSO TO PRESERVE AS MUCH TIME TO RESPOND TO QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE.

THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING RECOGNITION BY THE STATES OF THE IMPORTANCE OF SCHOOLING THAT BEGINS PRIOR TO THE CUSTOMARY AGE OF SIX. IN THE LAST THREE DECADES, 37 STATES, PUERTO RICO AND AMERICAN SAMOA HAVE GIVEN STATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. NINE STATES (ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, CONNECTICUT, FLORIDA, MAINE, MARYLAND, MASSACHUSETTS, RHODE ISLAND AND WEST VIRGINIA) HAVE MANDATED THAT OPTIONAL KINDERGARTENS BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL FIVE-YEAR-OLDS. THIRTEEN STATES HAVE PROVIDED SUPPORT FOR PRE-KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS.

I HAVE INTRODUCED A BILL, H. R. 5702, THE "PRESCHOOL CHILDREN EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT." IT AUTHORIZES THE EXPENDITURE OF $150 MILLION FOR SCHOOL-BASED EDUCATIONAL

(2)

PROGRAMS FOR FOUR-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN THE 50 STATES AND OUTLYING AREAS. EACH STATE'S ENTITLEMENT WOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE NUMBER OF FOUR-YEAR-OLDS IN THE STATE SO THAT THE RATIO OF THE STATE'S ALLOCATION TO THE TOTAL FUNDS APPROPRIATED WOULD BE EQUAL TO THE RATIO OF THE NUMBER OF THE STATE'S FOUR-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF FOUR-YEAR-OLDS IN THE STATES AND OUTLYING AREAS. THE BILL IS SPECIFIC IN DETAILING SUCH THINGS AS THE NECESSITY OF PARENT PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAM PLANNING AND OTHER ASPECTS WHICH I FEEL ARE NECESSARY TO INSURE QUALITY EDUCATION.

EDUCATORS IN RECENT YEARS HAVE INCREASINGLY BECOME AWARE THAT THE EARLY YEARS ARE THE CRITICAL YEARS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL. STUDIES OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT HAVE CONCLUDED THAT, AS DR. BENJAMIN BLOOM HAS STATED, "TO A VERY GREAT EXTENT A CHILD'S EXPERIENCES AT THE BEGINNING ARE CRITICAL DETERMINANTS OF HIS ENTIRE LIFE." DR. BLOOM ESTIMATES THAT AS MUCH AS 50 PERCENT OF MATURE INTELLIGENCE IS DEVELOPED BY AGE FOUR AND AN ADDITIONAL 30 PERCENT BETWEEN AGES FOUR AND EIGHT. SIMILAR FINDINGS HAVE BEEN MADE BY DRS. J. McVICKER HUNT, H. M. SKEELS, LOIS-ELLIN DATTA AND OTHERS.

(3)

DR. DATTA STATES: "BEFORE THEY ENTER FIRST GRADE, MOST CHILDREN HAVE DEVELOPED ALL OF THE BASIC MOTOR SKILLS THEY WILL EVER LEARN, MANY OF THE LINQUISTIC AND COGNITIVE SKILLS, AND HAVE ESTABLISHED THEIR TEMPERAMENTAL AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS." FOR SOME CHILDREN, THESE EARLY YEARS ARE SEVERELY CIRCUMSCRIBED BY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HANDICAPS SO THAT DEVELOPMENT IS IMPEDED DURING THE VERY TIME IT SHOULD BE ACCELERATING.

WHEN I INTRODUCED MY BILL, SOME MEMBERS EXPRESSED CONFUSION AS TO WHY THE BILL WAS NEEDED. THE CONFUSION LARGELY SURROUNDS THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN MY BILL AND THE BRADEMAS-MONDALE "CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT." AS A CO-SPONSOR OF THE BRADEMAS-MONDALE LEGISLATION, I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER THE PERCEPTION OF SUCH CONFLICT. THEREFORE, LET ME ATTEMPT TO MORE CLEARLY OUTLINE THE INTENT OF THE "PRESCHOOL CHILDREN EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE ACT."

AS YOU MAY BE AWARE, ON JULY 1, 1975, THE FIRST PHASE OF A TWO-PHASE CONSOLIDATION OF TITLES III AND V OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT WILL TAKE EFFECT. AS YOU MAY ALSO BE AWARE, MANY, IF NOT MOST, STATE DEPARTMENTS OF

(4)

EDUCATION WHICH GIVE FUNDING ASSISTANCE TO INNOVATIVE PRESCHOOL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS DO SO UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF TITLE III. THE FUNDING OF SUCH PROGRAMS IS MODEST, BUT REPRESENTS AN ATTEMPT TO BEGIN TO ADDRESS THE NEED FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION.

IT IS NOW THE FEAR OF MANY OF THESE DEPARTMENTS THAT THE CONSOLIDATION OF TITLES III AND V WILL BRING PRESSURES TO BEAR ON THAT NEW "POOL" OF FUNDING (NO LONGER SUBJECT TO THE RESTRICTIONS OF CURRENT TITLE III FUNDING), WHICH WILL PUSH EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION PROGRAMS OUT. THE NEW PRESSURES WILL BE LEGITIMATE ONES, E.G. PROGRAMS FOR THE HANDICAPPED AND POTENTIALLY ONES WITH MORE POLITICAL CLOUT THAN EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS.

THE BRADEMAS-MONDALE BILL WILL, WHEN PASSED, EFFECTIVELY ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF ESTABLISHING EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, SEVERAL STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION HAVE REQUESTED AN "INTERIM MEASURE," A BILL CALLING FOR MODEST FUNDING, SOLELY FOR FISCAL YEAR 76, TO ENABLE THE CURRENT LEVEL OF STATE ASSISTANCE TO CONTINUE UNTIL THE FUNDING LEVELS OF MORE COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION BECOME EFFECTIVE.

(5)

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE PROGRAMS FUNDED BY THIS BILL ARE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, NOT DAY CARE PROGRAMS. AS A FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, I AM A STRONG ADVOCATE OF DAY CARE PROGRAMS RUN BY TECHNICALLY COMPETENT, COMMUNITY AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS.

AGAIN, MY BILL CAN IN NO WAY BE CONSTRUED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR, OR AS A DETRACTION FROM THE BRADEMAS-MONDALE "CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT." I FULLY SUPPORT THE EXPEDITIOUS PASSAGE OF THAT BILL. HOWEVER, UNDERSTANDING AS I DO, THE TIME INVOLVED IN COMMITTEE AND FULL HOUSE CONSIDERATION OF COMPREHENSIVE LEGISLATION, I AGAIN URGE YOUR SUPPORT OF A SHORT TERM, "ONE SHOT" AUTHORIZATION BILL.

JAMES A. SENSENBAUGH
STATE SUPERINTENDENT

MARYLAND STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
P.O. BOX 8717, BWI AIRPORT
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21240

June 17, 1975

The Honorable Parren J. Mitchell
414 Cannon House Office Building
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representative Mitchell:

I wish to congratulate you on the leadership you have shown in introducing the Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act in the 94th Congress.

This is a commendable bill that would provide a realistic approach to one of the nation's most critical educational needs. It makes no promise of being a panacea for all the problems that children and their families may have. On the contrary, the bill would utilize facilities and staff already existing to achieve what we already know how to achieve.

Educators have long known that the academic failure that so often leads to later failure outside of school begins in the earliest years of a child's life. This has been strongly reaffirmed by the research of the last few years.

In recognition of the critical importance of the years before age six, Maryland public schools have been required by State law since 1973 to provide a kindergarten program for each five-year-old child. Also, the State Board of Education has given priority status to early childhood education.

Our project to evaluate early childhood programs in the State, funded by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and under the direction of Dr. Leon A. Rosenberg of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, has shown the real impact of the right kind of preschool programs on young children. According to the evidence, children who are provided quality educational programs at age four make significant gains in acquiring the essential learning skills. As a consequence, these children begin the regular school program with a better foundation and are more able to cope with school environment than similar children who did not have the benefit of preschool programs.

The Honorable Parren J. Mitchell
June 17, 1975
Page 2

The fact that many American children enter school unequipped for the challenges of learning is a national problem. Nothing less than strong national leadership will begin to solve this problem that is so costly in terms of lost human potential as well as in terms of penal and welfare expenditures.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES A. [redacted]
State Superintendent of Schools

JAS:jlk

### Testimony on Behalf of H.R. 5702-5703

A Bill to Amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act
of 1965 to Provide Grants for Educational Programs Designed to
Meet the Educational Needs of Certain Children of Preschool Age,

the "Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act."

My name is Percy V. Williams. I am the Assistant State Superintendent of Schools of the Maryland State Department of Education and am responsible for the Division of Compensatory, Urban, and Supplementary Programs. One of the four major program priorities funded in this Division is designed to serve preschool children. On behalf of the children of Maryland, I am presenting testimony concerning H.R. 5702 and 5703, the "Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act."

This legislation has been proposed for the following reasons:

1) The early years of a child's life are the critical years in the child's intellectual development.

2) Many children do not receive the foundations for learning during these preschool years. Especially this is true and critical of children in poor families.

3) The evidence from well planned and effectively implemented preschool projects indicates they do make a difference in the ability of educationally deprived children to learn so that they develop into participating and taxpaying citizens.

4) While federal and State funds have supported a limited number of model programs, the funds available currently from all sources are sufficient to meet the needs of only a small fraction of the four-year-old children who could benefit from preschool programs.

I strongly support comprehensive child care as proposed in "The Child and Family Services Act." As shown by previous testimony, there are currently many differences about its implementation and funding. The additional time needed for consideration of the diverse opinions about the bill are certain to result in a considerably delay in passage. Our children and our schools need funds now.

The original intent of Title I and Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was to provide compensatory and supplementary programs for children at all grade levels. Over the years, Maryland and other states have used large portions of these funds for early childhood education programs in the belief that prevention is more effective than remediation. We hold to this belief now more strongly than ever. Yet, with the consolidation of Title III and broad range of educational needs to be served by Title I, early childhood education programs will be shortchanged in the years ahead unless immediate action is taken to provide funds earmarked specifically for these programs. The proposal set forth in H.R. 5702 and 5703, the "Preschool Children Educational Assistance Act," is a modest request for funds to fill the gap resulting from the loss of other Federal funds. It is also a realistic first step toward achieving the long range goal envisioned by more comprehensive legislation.

Educators in recent years have increasingly become aware that the early years are the critical years in the development of each individual. Studies of child development have concluded that, as Dr. Benjamin Bloom has stated, "to a very great extent a child's experiences at the beginning are critical determinants of his entire future life." Bloom estimates that as much as 50 percent of mature intelligence is developed by age four and an additional 30 percent between the ages four and eight.[1] Similar findings have been made by Dr. J. McVicker Hunt, H. M. Skeels, Lois-ellin Datta, and others. Dr. Datta states: before they enter first grade, most children "have developed all the basic motor skills they will ever learn, many of the linguistic and cognitive skills, and have established their basic temperamental and social characteristics."[2] For some children, these early years are severely circumscribed by economic and social handicaps so that development is impeded during the very time it should be accelerating.

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[1] Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 68.

[2] New Directions for Early Child Development Programs (Urbana, Illinois: National Institute of Education, 1973), p. 11.

These and similar conclusions by child development experts have profound significance for the nation's public schools: if the home and community environments in which some children develop during their early years do not provide sufficient stimulus to promote the growth that is required for later success in school and in life, then the public schools must intervene and work with other agencies and organizations to provide supplementary programs that stimulate the intellectual development of these children.

The belief that each person should have the opportunities to develop to his full potential is a fundamental ideal in American society. To be meaningful, this ideal must include the intellectual needs of children at each stage in their development. These needs must be seen as having intrinsic value as well as in terms of future payoffs. In light of the mounting evidence of the critical importance of the early years, it is logical to conclude that the public schools and other organizations, supported by government funds, must allocate increasing resources to the years prior to entry into the regular kindergarten and first grade programs. The purpose of preschool programs, in the words of Dr. Hunt, is "to make up for what these children had no opportunity to learn at home so that they might become more able to perform more adequately in the elementary and secondary schools."

A pattern of repeated school failure that has begun in the primary grades is not easily reversed. By the junior and senior high school age, children who have continually slipped behind their peers are likely to conclude that school offers them nothing but further frustration. They await only the day they reach the age at which they are no longer legally required to attend school. Their departure from the classroom into the streets is marked by a bitterness in their unspoken awareness that, by not meeting their needs, school left them long before they left school. It should be surprising to no one that a disproportionate number of "dropouts" make up the crime and welfare statistics. It is less expensive, more effective and more humane to spend $1,000-$2,000 per year per child to enhance learning in the early years than to spend the approximately $10,000 per year per person it costs for juvenile detention.

Actually, the effects of inadequate attention to developmental needs of children are visible much earlier than in the juvenile years. Children who do not have the prerequisite skills are costly from the very beginning. While many children in Maryland come to school on the first day with a substantial foundation for academic achievement and a desire to learn, others do not. Approximately 4,000 children in the State repeat first grade each year at an annual cost of nearly $4 million. This is a terribly high cost to pay for the neglect of young children from disadvantaged backgrounds. This cost is compounded by the need for additional services later unless these children receive the early foundations for productive lives.

California has led the nation in providing funds for early childhood education programs. The $41 million appropriated for fiscal 1973 served approximately 230,000 children at more than 1,300 schools. Maryland, too, has shown leadership by providing public support for early childhood education programs.

In 1972, the State Board of Education officially designated early childhood education a priority among the State's educational programs. Today, there are more than 3,300 children enrolled in prekindergarten educational programs in the public schools of the State. The programs are operated by 12 local school systems, or half the number of school systems in the State. Prekindergarten programs in Baltimore City, St. Mary's County and Wicomico County are operated out of $699,000 in State funds appropriated for each of the last two years. Other programs in Baltimore City and the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore, Calvert, Charles, Harford, Howard, Montgomery, Somerset, and Washington are supported by Title I and Title III funds.

Early childhood education programs in Maryland reflect the particular philosophies of the local education agencies and the community needs of a State that is economically, socially and geographically diverse. However, the following common threads, in varying degrees of emphasis, run through all comprehensive early childhood education programs:

- a diagnostic approach to the education of each child.
- development of cognitive skills and the supportive areas of physical, social and emotional development of the child.
- preservice and inservice staff training.
- use of individualized and small group instruction.
- attention of self concept as an important part of each child's development.
- parent participation in program planning and operation.
- referral to appropriate supportive services in the areas of nutrition, social work and health.
- continuing program evaluation in terms of individual and overall achievement.

The Maryland State Department of Education has completed the first year of the ESEA Title III Evaluation Project for Selected Early Childhood Education Programs directed by Dr. Leon Rosenberg of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. Dr. Rosenberg has made the following statement about the first year results of evaluations of 10 projects throughout Maryland enrolling 943 children:

> The general results indicate that the programs produced significant improvement in vocabulary, retention of information and an ability to use that information in problem solving. Of greater importance is the finding that maximum improvement occurred in those groups of youngsters who were in greatest need. Those are the youngsters who, without this form of intervention, would definitely have demonstrated serious learning handicaps. The data also indicate that these are the kinds of children who would lose the benefit of this early improvement if adequate follow-up were not carried out. Looking at each county as a whole, we see average improvement represented by overall score changes of 10 to 15 percent. When we look at the most needy children, we find improvement at the level of 40 to 50 percent on our measurement of overall learning function.

An analogy can be drawn between preventive medicine and early childhood education. Medical research has made the public fully aware of the value of prevention. There is great value also in early prevention of educational deficiencies. The costs of an inadequate education are staggering and appear in many forms. The time has arrived when the public will no longer tolerate the failure of responsible public officials and state agencies to provide the educational programs needed by large numbers of young children.

Senator **MONDALE.** Next we have a panel composed of Dr. Rhoda Lorand of Long Island University and Dr. Earl Schaefer, professor, department of maternal and child health, the University of North Carolina.

The two witnesses will please come to the witness table.

Dr. Schaefer, we are pleased to have you with us.

## STATEMENT OF DR. EARL S. SCHAEFER, PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. **SCHAEFER.** I am very pleased to be here.

Senator **MONDALE.** Is Dr. Lorand here? Would you please come up?

I understand that Senator Buckley will be here later, but I am sure he would not mind our proceeding. He can be heard when he arrives.

The order of witnesses, according to my schedule, is Dr. Lorand, first.

Dr. **LORAND.** Well, Dr. Schaefer will go first. I am waiting to receive my presentation that is being typed.

Senator **MONDALE.** Very well.

Dr. Schaefer, please proceed.

Dr. **SCHAEFER.** I am very grateful to be here today to offer my support for improved services for parents and children.

Part of my goal is to present a point of view derived from 10 years of research on early intervention on the most cost-effective way to influence the development of children. I would like to summarize that point of view and also request that two papers that further develop it be entered into the record of this hearing.

Senator **MONDALE.** They will appear following your testimony.

Dr. **SCHAEFER.** Thank you very much.

I would like to mention that I think the one is more a hope than a reality. It is entitled, "Child Development Research and the Educational Revolution," which presents a very different point of view than some of the distinguished educators who have spoken before this hearing.

The second develops also a point of view that is relevant to the child development program on "The Scope and Focus of Research Relevant to Intervention."

The evolution of my opinions about the most effective way to influence child care and child development began approximately 10 years ago with an understanding that the intellectual functioning of children largely stabilizes in the first 3 years of life, and also that schools are relatively unsuccessful in changing the level of functioning initially developed and then maintained by the family and the community.

From that research I developed a hypothesis of the need for intellectual stimulation in order to stimulate intellectual development—and, later, academic achievement.

Although I had published research that showed the influence of parent behavior upon child behavior, I had too little faith in parents and too little faith in our ability to work with parents at that time to have a parent-centered program. Therefore, I developed a child-centered infant education project in which we sent tutors into homes for an hour a day, 5 days a week, and worked primarily with the child stimulating development through verbal stimulation and enriched experience.

The evaluation of the infant education program showed that already the children were showing the effects of the deprivation at 15 months of age, suggesting that we were beginning relatively late in their development.

However, the effect of tutoring over the next 21 months showed highly significant gains in intellectual development, so the program seemed a success at that time.

However a followup 3 years later found that the gains had been washed out relatively completely and there were no significant long-term effects upon the academic achievement.

Senator MONDALE. Now, there were no programs that continued during that 3-year interval, were there?

Dr. SCHAEFER. Very little program. I agree. It was not an enriched program.

Senator MONDALE. So, in other words, if the program had continued and you had taken a test 3 years later, you might have had a different result?

Dr. SCHAEFER. Yes; I agree with that completely. In fact, I concluded that the program had begun relatively late, that it ended too early, and that it had the wrong focus on working with the child rather than the parent.

I would like to contrast my program with Phyllis Levenstein's parent-centered program, which seems to demonstrate that working with parents is far more cost-effective than working with children. She saw children over a 7-month period with approximately 32 home visits with mother and child. I have seen children over a 21-month period with over 300 visits in the home focusing on the child.

Her work with parents, which involved fewer visits over a shorter time period, had a short-term effect equivalent to our longer and more intensive child-centered program.

Also the evaluation of our child-centered program showed no long-term effects, while the followups of Levenstein's parent-centered intervention was relatively good, suggesting that working with parents can have relatively enduring changes in parent education and child development.

Now, reviews by Bronfenbrenner, who fortunately is not with us today, and Lazar and Chapman of the effectiveness——

Senator MONDALE. He is always with us.

Dr. SCHAEFER. That is great, because I approve very much of the thrust of his interpretation of the literature.

These reviews also suggested that providing support for parental care is a more effective way of fostering the development and well-being of children.

I would like to point out the characteristics of family care that cannot be duplicated by institutions. Those include: Priority, duration, continuity, amount, extensity of interaction, intensity of interaction, pervasive influence over the child's experience, consistency through time, and the responsibility parents still bear for children.

Thus the family has an early, continuing, and cumulative impact upon child development that cannot be replaced by schools or day care centers.

I have concluded that equality of educational opportunity cannot be provided by day care centers or schools alone. Strengthening and supporting family care and education is a far more effective way of influencing child development than child-centered education or day care.

Of course, adequate day care of children of working parents is necessary, but adequate parental care is far more important to child development.

And I would like to suggest that many of the current and proposed programs to provide services for children are based upon what I call a classroom perspective or professional and institutional perspective on child care and education. This perspective assumes that the best way to provide care and education is to bring the child under the direct care and supervision of professionals, preferably in a day care center or classroom.

The major goal of these programs is to provide direct services to children that supplement family care and education.

The importance of the family for child development and the success of parent-centered early intervention suggests a contrasting lifetime and lifespace, which I will call an ecological perspective, that emphasizes the child's interactions with his family and community. The ecological perspective suggests that strengthening and supporting the family will be far more cost-effective than providing direct care and education to the child.

Although the current Commissioner of Education, T. H. Bell, supports schools that work with parents and communities, many educators do not share that perspective.

Perhaps a professional institutional perspective has led to recommendations that family services be removed from the proposed legislation; however, the ecological perspective suggests that the family services component should be strengthened rather than eliminated.

The lack of understanding by some educators of the importance of the needs of families also suggests that the administration of child and family services should be assigned to an agency or agencies that have active research, demonstration, and training programs that focus upon families.

Although coordination of the programs that influence families and children is desirable, the contributions made by many different Government agencies suggest that diversity of effort should also be continued. Different approaches determined by the different roles of the agencies have probably contributed more than a single program could have.

For example, the intervention research that provided the basis for the Home Start program, a very successful program, was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, as well as by the Office of Child Development, suggesting that different agencies can contribute to a program.

Although my major goal today is to support an emphasis on family services, I recognize the need for quality day care for many children. However, I fear that community planning for child care may often provide group day care only.

The relative effectiveness of different types of services and the principle that parents should have options, alternatives, and freedom of choice for child care suggest that every community should also provide family services and psychological and economic supports for parental care.

My concern is that providing a subsidy for group child care without providing equal financial benefits for parents who choose to care for their own children or choose to make other child care arrangements may be a form of economic coercion.

Offering a mother food, health services, and education for her child in group day care without offering comparable assistance for child care in the home or the parent's choice of child care can be viewed as a form of both psychological and economic coercion because it says to the mother, "The community has decided this is the best type of care for your child. You can use group day care or nothing."

My awareness of this problem was increased by the fact that the cost of group day care for a single child in some cities is greater than the welfare for a family of four—food, housing, clothing, and all care of children. Establishing the principle that adequate support for family care should be provided, as well as adequate support for group care, would influence the development of future child and family services.

I suggest that the Child and Family Services Act support the development of options, alternatives, and choices for parents in child care and education. The Office of Child Development is developing alternatives in early education in the Home Start and Head Start programs and has found the Home Start program of one-family visit a week is as effective as a Head Start program in influencing child development.

I suggest that the Child and Family Services Act mandate the provision of such options and alternatives in every participating community and mandate that equal financial support be provided for different child care choices by parents.

My evaluation of research achievements during the 10 years since the beginning of Head Start is that we have learned much that is of both scientific and social significance. What we have learned suggests that a major goal of both research and the professions that provide services to families and children is to develop a comprehensive support system for family care and education of children.

Research on family influences on child development and early intervention shows both the necessity and the feasibility of increasing both maternal and paternal acceptance and involvement in the care and education of children. The research findings strongly suggest that strengthening and supporting parental involvement, which means direct care and education of their child rather than merely sitting on boards of directors, would contribute more to the health, education, and welfare of children than programs that supplement, and occasionally inadvertently supplant, the family's education of the child.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you for a splendid statement and for your outstanding work in this field.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Schaefer and material referred to follows:]

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
AT
CHAPEL HILL
27514

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH
DEPARTMENT OF MATERNAL
AND CHILD HEALTH

TELEPHONE
AREA 919, 966-2017

STATEMENT OF

EARL S. SCHAEFER

PROFESSOR

OF

MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

ON

H.R. 2966 AND S. 626

THE CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT OF 1975

BEFORE THE

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

AND THE

HOUSE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

JUNE 18, 1975

I am Earl S. Schaefer, Professor of Maternal and Child Health, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a developmental psychologist with 22 years of experience in research on the influence of families and the professions upon child development. I am very grateful for this opportunity to offer my support for improved services for children and families. My goal today is to present a point of view, derived from ten years of research on early intervention, on the most cost-effective way of providing these services. I would like to summarize that point of view and also request that two papers that further develop it be entered into the record of this hearing. The first paper--which has a title that represents more of a hope than a reality--"Child Development Research and the Educational Revolution: The Child, The Family and the Education Profession" presents a very different perspective from that held by some of the educators who have appeared at these hearings. The second paper--"The Scope and Focus of Research Relevant to Intervention: A Socio-Ecological Perspective"-- also presents a perspective on research and professional services that is relevant to planning programs for children and families.

The evolution of my opinions about the most effective way to influence child care and child development began with research findings that the level of intellectual functioning of children from every social group is established during the first three years of life. At that time, several major studies also found that schools are unsuccessful in changing the level of functioning initially developed and subsequently maintained by family and community. From the early research I developed a hypothesis of the need to provide intellectual stimulation during the second and third year of life in order to stimulate intellectual development. Although I had published research that showed the influence of parental behavior upon intellectual development, my lack of faith in parents and in our ability to work with parents led to the development of a child-centered tutoring program in the home. In that infant education research project, tutors went into homes with a major goal of providing enriched experience and language stimulation for the child. Evaluation of the Infant Education program showed that beginning tutoring at 15 months of age was rather late because some children already showed the effects of early deprivation. When we ended the tutoring at three years, the differences in behavior and mental test scores between the tutored group and the control group suggested that the tutoring had a significant effect upon the child's development. However, a three year follow-up showed no long-term effects upon the child's academic skills. From my infant eduation experience I concluded that we had begun relatively late, that we had ended our work too soon, and that we had the wrong focus--upon the child, rather than upon working with the parents.

The contrast between my child-centered program and Levenstein's parent-centered program suggests that working with parents is far more cost-effective even on a short-term basis, but far more effective on a long-term basis. We saw children in over three hundred visits in the home over a 21 month period. Levenstein worked with parents in the home for approximately thirty-two visits over a seven month period. Her work with parents, which involved fewer visits over a shorter time period, had a short-term effect equivalent to our longer and more intensive child-centered program. The evaluation of our child-centered program found no significant long-term effects on academic skills. The follow-ups on Levenstein's parent-centered intervention are relatively good, suggesting that working with parents can produce enduring changes in parental education and child development.

Reviews by Bronfenbrenner and by Lazar and Chapman of the effectiveness of early parent-centered intervention and of programs to influence parenting skills also suggest that providing support for parental care is a more effective way of fostering the development and well-being of children. Characteristics of family care of children, as contrasted to characteristics of professional and institutional care, may explain the greater effectiveness of strengthening and supporting families. Characteristics of family care include: priority, duration, continuity, amount, extensity, intensity, pervasiveness, consistency, and responsibility. Thus the family has an early, continuing, and cumulative impact upon child development that cannot be replaced by schools or day care centers. Equality of educational opportunity cannot be provided by day care centers or schools alone. Strengthening and supporting family care and education of the child is a far more effective way of influencing child development than child-centered education or day care. Of course, adequate day care of children of working mothers is important, but adequate parental care of children is even more essential.

Many current and proposed programs to provide services for children are based upon a classroom perspective or professional and institutional perspective on child care and education. This perspective assumes that the best way to provide care or education for the child is to bring the child under the direct care or supervision of professionals, preferably in a day care center or classroom. The major goal is to provide direct services to children that supplement family care and education. The importance of the family for child development and the success of parent-centered early intervention suggest a contrasting life time and life space, or ecological perspective, that emphasizes the child's interactions with his family and community. The ecological perspective suggests that strengthening and supporting family care of the child would be more cost-effective than providing direct care and education for the child.

Although the current U.S. Commissioner of Education, T.H. Bell, supports schools that work with parents and communities, many educators do not share that perspective. Perhaps a professional institutional perspective has led to recommendations that family services be removed from the proposed legislation. The ecological perspective suggests that the family services component should be strengthened rather than eliminated. The lack of understanding by some educators of the importance and of the needs of families also suggests that the administration of child and family programs should be assigned to an agency or agencies that have active research, demonstration, and training programs that focus upon families as well as the isolated individual child. Although coordination of the programs that influence families and children is desirable, the contributions made by a number of government agencies to intervention, child development and family research suggest that diversity of effort should be continued. Different approaches determined by the different roles of several agencies have probably contributed more than a single program could have offered. For example, intervention research that has provided a basis for the Home Start program of the Office of Child Development has been funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, as well as by the Office of Child Development itself.

Although my major goal today is to support an emphasis on family services, I recognize the need for quality day care for many children. However, I fear that community planning for child care may often provide for group day care only. The relative effectiveness of different types of services and the principle that parents should have options, alternatives and freedom of choice of child care suggest that every community should also provide family services and psychological and economic supports for parental care of children. My concern is that providing a subsidy for group child care without providing equal financial benefits for parents who choose to care for their own children or choose to make other child care arrangements may be a form of economic coercion. Offering a mother food, health services, and education for her child in group day care without offering comparable assistance for child care in the home can be viewed as a form of both psychological and economic coercion: either the mother uses the group day care that is provided by the community or receives no assistance in child care. My awareness of this problem was increased by the fact that the cost of group day care for a single child in some cities is greater than the welfare payment for a family of four. Establishing the principle that adequate support for family care be provided, as well as adequate support for group day care, would influence the development of future child and family services.

I suggest that the Child and Family Services Act support the development of options, alternatives and choices for parents in child care and education. The Office of Child Development is developing alternatives in early education in the Head Start and Home Start programs and has found the Home Start program of one family visit a week is as effective as a Head

Start program in influencing child development. I suggest that the Child and Family Services Act mandate the provision of such options and alternatives in every participating community and mandate that equal financial support be provided for different child care choices by parents.

My evaluation of research achievements during the ten years since the beginning of Head Start is that we have learned much that is of both scientific and social significance. What we have learned suggests that a major goal of both research and the professions that provide services to families and children is to develop a comprehensive support system for family care and education of children. Research on family influences on child development and early intervention shows both the necessity and the feasibility of increasing both maternal and paternal acceptance and involvement in the care and education of the child. The research findings strongly suggest that strengthening and supporting parental involvement will contribute more to the health, education and welfare of children than programs that supplement, and occasionally supplant, family care of the child.

# CHILD DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH AND THE EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION:

## THE CHILD, THE FAMILY AND THE EDUCATION PROCESS

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Research on early education, when integrated with research on the role of the family in child development, can be interpreted as suggesting the need for a new paradigm for education, for a new perspective, for a new consciousness, and for new or renewed structures-- professions and institutions--that will foster the development and education of the child. Research findings show minimal long-term effectiveness of early intervention and limited effectiveness of the schools in increasing the level of intellectual functioning initially developed and then maintained by the family. Thus the current professional emphasis upon supplementing family education and care of the child should be complemented by an emphasis upon strengthening and supporting family care and education of the child. Much of the research on early education has progressed from programs that have attempted to educate the child--child-centered programs--to programs that attempt to strengthen the family's contribution to the education of the child--parent-centered programs. The greater long-term effectiveness of parent-centered programs as contrasted to child-centered programs has major implications for the future of the education profession and other professions that relate to parents and children.

Generalizations from research on child development and early education.

Many of the generalizations from research on early development are drawn from reviews of research--on early intellectual development (Schaefer, 1970), on parent behavior and the child's intellectual development and academic achievement (Hess, 1969; Schaefer, 1972) and on programs to develop parenting skills (Lazar and Chapman, 1972). Generalizations that would contribute to a new perspective on education and that have major implications for education will be briefly summarized here.

1. The mean level of intellectual functioning of children from each social group, as determined by the standard mental tests, is established during the first three years of life and can be determined at the time that mental tests begin to measure language skills. (Hindley, 1965; Terman, 1937; Van Alstyne, 1929). Studies of representative populations suggest that these differences tend to persist during the school years (Coleman, 1966; Terman, 1937, Kennedy, 1969). Thus the child's level of intellectual functioning is developed and maintained by his early and continuing environment.

2. Parent behaviors significantly influence the child's intellectual development and academic achievement (Hess, 1969; Schaefer, 1972; Moore, 1968). Parent behaviors tend to be stable through childhood (Schaefer and Bayley, 1960) and have a cumulative effect upon the child's intellectual development (Bayley and Schaefer, 1964; Moore, 1968). Evidence is accumulating that the home environment not only initially develops but also maintains the child's level of intellectual functioning and academic achievement (Douglas, 1964; Clarke and Clarke, 1959).

3. Although early, brief, child-centered intellectual stimulation programs have significant short-term effects upon the child's intellectual performance, the long-term effects appear to be small and often insignificant (Schaefer, 1972; Gray, and Klaus, 1969.
The response to this finding has taken three different directions: (1) Beginning programs earlier, including the first year of life, in order to

have a greater impact on the child's early development. (2) Continuing enrichment of the child's education--Follow-Through programs--in order to maintain the child's functioning. (3) Shifting the focus of the program from direct intervention with the child to training and supporting parental education of the child. Thus the new directions respond to three criticisms of the early education programs--they begin too late, they end too early, and they focus upon the child rather than the parent.

4. Parent-centered as contrasted with child-centered intervention programs seem to have equal short-term effectiveness at lower costs, may have greater long-term effects and may result in higher levels of performance for younger children in the family. Parent-centered programs have been successfully used for an alternative as well as for a complement to preschool programs (Lazar and Chapman, 1972). The extent of parent-centered intervention--both amount and length of time--required to produce long term effects upon child development is as yet undetermined, but it seems reasonable that parents as well as children require both early and continuing education. Although the number of studies, the nature of the samples used, and the length of follow-up to determine the effects of parent-centered information is limited; the available data complement the data on parent behavior and child development in suggesting that parents should be actively involved as students of the education process and as teachers of their own children in order to foster the development of their children.

## Development of a new paradigm and a new perspective of education

Generalizations from research on parent behavior, child development, and early education suggest that the classroom model of education does not provide an adequate guide for planning early and continuing education. Yet is is the classroom model that leads to recommendations that children be brought into an institutional setting under professional care at younger ages. In order to provide a new approach to early education, a new model was developed from data on parent behavior and child development (Schaefer, 1970). The model was named Ur-education to signify the most primitive--earliest and most basic--education of the child. Although the model was developed for early education, it may apply equally at later periods.

The first stage of Ur-education is the development by the parent or educator of a positive relationship to the child or student.

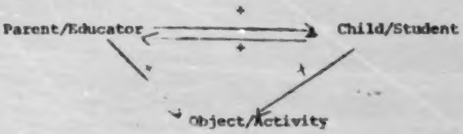
Stage 1. Parent/ Educator $\xrightarrow{\quad + \quad}$ Child/ Student

Recent work on maternal bonding to the infant (Klaus, et al, 1972) as well as evidence of the stability of the parent's relationship to the child suggests that this first stage may be a critical period for early intervention. In the second stage the child responds with the development of a positive relationship to the parent/educator.

Stage 2. Parent/ Educator $\underset{+}{\overset{+}{\rightleftarrows}}$ Child/ Student

During the third stage the parent/educator and child/student share an activity or work with an object in the course of which the relationship is strengthened and the child learns language skills, other cognitive abilities, interests, and task-oriented behaviors of attentiveness and perseverance that contribute to academic achievement.

Stage 3.



The fourth stage indicates that from these experiences the child develops the potential for independent learning or group learning. Perhaps the major reason some students cannot achieve in the classroom is that they have not developed the necessary behavior skills through Ur-education.

Stage 3. Child/Student $\xrightarrow{+}$ Object/Activity

The Ur-education model might describe either parent and child or educator and student. However, the major influence of the family as contrasted to the school (Douglas, 1964) upon the child's intellectual and academic development led to an analysis of characteristics of family care and education that might be compared to professional care and education of the child (Schaefer, 1972). Although the list might be changed by addition or revision, the characteristics listed in Table I suggest that the family has a greater potential for Ur-education than the typical child care or education institution. In fact, an effective substitute for family care and education of children would require an institution that would have the characteristics of the family. Development of such an institution has not been feasible with the limited roles and responsibilities that are accepted by professionals.

Evidence of the importance of the family in the care and education of the child suggested the development of two contrasting perspectives on education--the classroom perspective and a life-time and life-space perspective or ecological perspective that emphasizes the person learning through his interaction with his environment. Differences between the two perspectives are illustrated by different answers to

Table I

Major Characteristics of the Parent's Interaction with the Child

| | |
|---|---|
| Priority | Parents influence the early development of relationships, language, interests, task-oriented behaviors, etc. |
| Duration | The parent's interactions with the child usually extend from birth to maturity. |
| Continuity | The parent-child interaction is usually not interrupted, particularly in early childhood, apart from brief separations. Concern about such interruptions has led to research on maternal separation and deprivation. |
| Amount | The total amount of time spent in parent-child interaction, particularly one-to-one interaction, is usually greater than with other adults. |
| Extensity | The parent shares more different situations and experiences with the child than do other adults. |
| Intensity | The degree of involvement between parent and child, whether that involvement is hostile or loving, is usually greater than between the child and other adults. |
| Pervasiveness | Parents potentially influence the child's use of the mass media, his social relationships, his exposure to social institutions and professions, and much of the child's total experience, both inside and outside the home. |
| Consistency | Parents develop consistent patterns of behavior with children. |
| Responsibility | Both society and parents recognize the parent's primary responsibility for the child. |
| Variability | Great variability exists in parental care of children, varying from extremes of parental neglect and abuse to extremes of parental acceptance, involvement, and stimulation. |

From Schaefer, E.S. Parents as educators: Evidence from cross-sectional longitudinal and intervention research. Young Children, April, 1972, 227-239.

questions about education in Table 2 (Schaefer, 1971). The two perspectives--a professional, institutional perspective and an ecological perspective--might also be applied to the field of child care, child welfare, and child health. Perhaps a major characteristic of the professional, institutional perspective is that the major goal is to supplement and, if needed, to supplant family education while the ecological perspective and the research data suggest the need to strengthen and support family education of the child.

Table 2

Two Perspectives on Education

| Questions | Answers | |
|---|---|---|
| | The classroom perspective | The life-time and life-space perspective |
| Where is a person educated? | In the school | In total life space, including the home, mass media, and school |
| When does education occur? | In the school | During total life time, from birth to death |
| Who are the students? | School-age children | All who are engaged in the educational process--parents, peers, teachers, etc. |
| What is the role of the professional educator? | To teach the child | To be a leader and resource person for the ducational process. |
| How does one educate? | Through formal instruction | Through relationships, varied experience, language stimulation, etc. |
| What is being learned? | Academic skills | Relationships, interests, attitudes, behavior, language, cognitive skills, etc. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| What are the major goals of education? | To master academic subjects and to earn academic credentials | To further individual development and to promote social adjustment and competence |
| What is the most important educational institution? | The school | The family |

From Schaefer, E.S. Toward a revolution in education: A perspective from child development research. The National Elementary Principal, 1971, 51, 18-25.

## Implications of new research and a new perspective for education

The research findings on parent behavior, child development and early education; the new paradigm for education--the UR-education model; the ecological perspective on education; and the new consciousness of the importance of the family in education have many implications for parents and the education profession. The evidence and the perspective suggest the need for a revolution in education--a return to the definitions of education that include "the act or process of rearing or bringing up . . ." and "the process of providing with knowledge, skill, competence or unusually desirable qualities of behavior and character. . ." (Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged. Springfield, Mass.: G. & G. Merriam, Co., 1965) from an implicit definition of education as schooling--the child in the classroom with a professional educator. Parallel to the implicit definition of education as schooling have been the interpretations of parent involvement in education as supporters, service givers, and facilitators of schooling and, more recently, as teacher aides and volunteers in the classroom--interpretations that assume the parent's role is to contribute to the teacher's work in the classroom (Hess, et al., 1970).

However, Hess and his collaborators also note the emergence of new roles of parents--as students of the educational process and teachers of their own children. Parallel to the new roles for parents would be new roles for teachers as trainers, supporters, and contributors to the parent's education of the child in the home.

A return to the more comprehensive definition of education would suggest new objectives for professional educators. Perhaps the major objective would be to influence the child's education in the home, community, and through the mass media from birth onward--before school entrance, evenings, weekends, holidays, vacations, and after the school years. This objective would require emphasis upon developing communication, cooperation, and collaboration with parents to support the child's extra-academic education. It would also require that educators involve themselves in training parents and future parents in family care and education skills. Educational planning would begin to develop the money, manpower, motivation, methods, materials, and models required to implement a life time and life space perspective on education. The objectives of enrolling children in school at five, four, or three years of age and of enrolling infants in developmental day care might appear less urgent if we begin to develop the alternative of strengthening and supporting family care and education of children.

The need to develop a support system for family care and education of the child is suggested by increasing evidence that the isolated nuclear family is not a self-sufficient unit. The ability of the family to care for and educate the child is weakened by stresses and strengthened by support from neighbors, friends, relatives, social groups, and relevant professionals. Personnel of effective programs of training and support for family care and education of the child have included public health nurses, social workers, educators, pediatricians, psychologists, and a variety of generalists and paraprofessionals. However, experimental programs cannot provide the early and continuing support for increasing numbers of parents. Therefore new or renewed professions and institutions are needed that will provide the needed training and support throughout the life cycle. If the education profession could develop new roles they might provide training and experience in child care and education to future parents throughout the period of school attendance and also provide methods, materials, training, and consultation to parents of schoolage children. Training and support for family care and education of the child before school entrance might be provided by health personnel, by educators, or by a new discipline. A family support system might be developed parallel to and independent of the existing professions or it might be integrated into education through an ecological perspective on education.

Ideally, professional education will provide support for family education of the child. Research findings suggest that "Equality of Educational Opportunity" (Coleman, 1966) cannot be provided by schools alone. Schools are necessary but are not sufficient for the education of the child. Thus educators are not merely confronted with a "Crisis in the Classroom" (Silverman, 1970 ) but are confronted with a crisis in education. Educational progress requires attention not only to "Schools in the '70s" but also to Families in the '70s. The future of education will be determined by the response to the challenge of the demonstrated need for and the demonstrated feasibility of providing training and support for education in the home.

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# THE SCOPE AND FOCUS OF RESEARCH RELEVANT TO INTERVENTION:
## A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

Earl S. Schaefer

In T.D. Tjossem, (Ed.) Intervention Strategies with High Risk Infants. Baltimore: University Park Press, In Press

# The Scope and Focus of Research Relevant to Intervention: A Socio-Ecological Perspective[1]

Earl S. Schaefer

This analysis of the need for a socio-ecological perspective in research relevant to intervention is motivated by the past findings of intervention research and by a concern for the future of intervention programs. Typically, research and demonstration programs have a limited life span and a limited impact. When funding ends the special programs vanish, whereas the major professions and institutions with more stable support remain. It follows that intervention research will have its greatest continuing impact through influence upon child care, health and education institutions and professions.

However, the type of impact that intervention research will have upon the professions and institutions will be determined by the scope and focus of that research. For example, intervention research focussed upon the individual or monad may encourage the professions to persist in their emphasis on direct care of the individual child. Whether due to the greater accessibility of mothers or to the hypothesis of the greater influence of maternal behavior, research focussed upon the mother-child dyad may also contribute to the neglect of fathers in child care, health and education. Likewise, intervention research that ignores the effect of other family, community and professional variables upon mother and child may support the current, limited focus upon the diagnosis and treatment of the child or of the mother-child dyad. Attention to early intervention without continuing intervention and to short-term rather than long-term evaluation may confirm professional emphasis upon brief, direct care of the child and its immediate effects.

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the editorial assistance of Mary Sue Comstock in preparing this paper.

However, findings of early intervention research have contributed to the development of a socio-ecological perspective that implies a broader scope and a change in focus. Research has moved from a predominant focus on the individual or monad to include a focus on the interaction of the mother-child dyad (Beckwith, This Volume; Dennenberg & Thoman, This Volume). Evidence of the need for professional consultation and support during the development of the mother-child relationship (Dennenberg & Thoman, This Volume) and of the effectiveness of instructions to mothers to attend to the appropriate behavior of their child (Baer, D.M., Rowbury, Baer, A.M., Herbert, Clark, & Nelson, This Volume) also point to the need to study the interaction of the parent-professional-child triad and its effects upon parental care and child development. Also contributing to a broader scope are other findings that suggest the need to study father-child and husband-wife dyads and the mother-father-child triad as they influence child development. The need for intervention that prevents rather than remediates problems in parent-child relationships is supported by evidence that the parent-child relationship may stabilize in the early days, weeks or months of life and that the type of hospital care of the mother and infant at the time of delivery may influence maternal attachment to the infant. In addition, evidence that social stresses and supports and professional and institutional policies and practices may influence parental care of the child suggests the importance of studying the ecosystems which influence child care and child development.

Thus, a broadening scope of intervention research is moving from the study of monads and dyads to the study of triads and ecosystems. This research supports a change in focus in a variety of research and service areas. Attention moves from the direct care of the child by the professional to support for family and community care of the child; from the needs of children to those of parents. Further, the focus shifts from the child and parent to the social stresses and supports and the professions and institutions that influence children and parents and from the need for early care and education of the child to the need for an enduring family and community environment that fosters development. It is the goal of this paper to review some of the research which is contributing to a socio-ecological perspective which may, in turn, lead to a change in emphasis in the professions and institutions which relate to parents and children.

Although study of the individual is necessary to provide a basis for decisions about intervention, Sullivan's (1931) statement concerning psychiatry that, "to isolate its individual subject matter, a personality, from a complex of interpersonal relations . . . is preposterously beside the point" would also apply to research that provides a basis for intervention. The effort to study the family environment of the child has typically led to research on mother-child interaction--initially the study of the effects of maternal behavior upon the child, but increasingly the study of the child's behavior as a stimulus for parent behavior (Bell, 1971; Dennenberg & Thoman, This Volume). However, the reciprocal influences of natural mother and child include the possible influence of the intrauterine environment (Sontag, 1941) and of labor and delivery upon characteristics of the child, the influence of the child's characteristics upon maternal behavior (Bell, 1971), and the subsequent influence of stable patterns of maternal behavior upon child behavior. These circular interactions suggest the need for caution in making interpretations of mother-child correlations as being caused by the child or by the mother. Longitudinal studies of the intercorrelations of behavior of mother and child (Moss, 1967) are needed to determine whether early maternal behavior is more predictive of specific child behavior, as appeared to be true in longitudinal studies (Schaefer & Bayley, 1963; Moore, 1968), or vice versa.

Intervention research designed to change maternal behavior with the child suggests that maternal behavior influences child behavior, but Ramey, Collier, Sparling, Loda, Campbell and Ingram (This Volume) also report that developmental day care for the infant may influence the child's responsiveness which, in turn, may influence the mother's behavior with the child. The reciprocal influence of parent and child suggests that intervention with either parent or child may begin a sequence of positive interactions. Although interactions are circular, attempts to supplement deficient or distorted parent care of the child in child-centered intervention and attempts to influence parent behavior in parent-centered intervention still suggest that an efficacious focus of intervention is upon changing adult behavior which influences child behavior.

Despite the fact that in recent years more attention has been given to father-child relationships, the major focus of intervention research and programs, as well as services for child and families, is still upon the mother-child relationship. Yet correlations between paternal behavior and the child's early intellectual development (Radin, 1973), between children's perceptions of parent behavior and adolescent alienation (Rode, 1971), and between parent-child relationships and behavior problems of boys (Rutter, 1971), all suggest that the father may have an equal influence on child adjustment and development. Despite the relative inaccessibility of fathers for research and their typically low involvement in child care, health, and education, evidence that positive paternal involvement contributes significantly to child development points to the importance of devoting more effort to working with fathers in both research and service programs.

In the past, studies of mother-child and father-child dyads have been seen as relevant to intervention, but the husband-wife dyad has been generally ignored by the field of child development. This is shown by the index of the volume on socialization in the Handbook of Child Psychology (Mussen, 1970), which includes no references to marriage or to the husband-wife relationship. Yet Rutter (1971) found that the husband-wife relationship is highly correlated with antisocial behavior of boys and Nye (1957) reported that children from unhappy, unbroken homes are more maladjusted than children from broken homes. Furthermore, failure to establish a stable husband-wife relationship is also related to the high incidence of poverty in mother-headed households (U.S. Census). Perhaps, through a broadened scope of intervention research that includes father-child and husband-wife dyads, intervention could become more effective by supporting and strengthening the entire network of family relationships.

A focus upon the entire network of family relationships requires more comprehensive conceptualization, quantification and research, including research on the mother-child, father-child, husband-wife and sibling dyads (Lowman, 1972; Schaefer, 1974). Research on family networks might test the hypothesis that interventions in one component of the family system may change the prior balance of family relationships. Thus, intervention that focusses the parent's attention upon one child may have an impact upon the parent's relationship to other children. A related area of research would be upon the parent's relationships to two or more children in the same family. Lowman (1972) found, in a family with one child in psychiatric treatment, that while the parents' relationships with that child were more likely to be less positive, relationships with a sibling of that child were more likely to be more positive than were parent-child relationships in families without a child in treatment. Other data suggest that parents have the potentiality for developing very different relationships with the several children in their families. This research finding that a parent may have difficulty only in relating to a particular child suggests the need for further research and service that attempts to support parents in their development of positive relationships with each of their children.

A number of different studies support the hypothesis that current stresses and supports may influence the quality of family care of children. Stresses caused by the presence of a mentally retarded child in the family have been investigated by Schonell and Watts (1956), Kershner (1970) and Stone (1967). Number of children in the family has been related to adequacy of family care by Douglas (1964), Elmer (1967), and Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970), and timing and spacing of births has been related to child abuse by Elmer (1967). Current stresses and lack of social supports have been related to emotional disturbances of mothers during the four months after delivery by Gordon and Gordon (1959), to rehospitalization or death of premature infants by Glass, Kolko, and Evans (1971) and to differences between adequate and potentially neglectful or neglectful mothers by Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970). The latter summarize their conclusions as follows:

> In sum, the low-income neglectful parent is under greater environmental and situations stress and has fewer resources and supports in coping with these stresses than does the adequate mother. It is the current situational strains that predominate among neglectful parents, not those of their past life.

Thus, clinical studies suggest that differences in parent-child relationships and child care which are found between socioeconomic groups are also related to the balance of family stresses and supports. Perhaps, more attention to the elimination of family stresses and to the development of family support systems rather than to the direct, professional care of children may better serve to foster child development.

The need for analysis of family triads and family groups is paralleled by the need to analyse the focus and quality of interaction among the child, the parent or parents, and the professional(s) who offer services to children and families. Chamberlin (1974) reports that parents of four year olds in pediatric care frequently do not discuss their children's definite behavioral or emotional problems with the pediatrician, but that most of those who do discuss such problems report the professional to be helpful. Stine (1962) also found very little discussion of child behavior or development during pediatric visits and Starfield and Barkowe (1969) report that parents' questions during pediatric visits were often unaknowledged and unanswered. An example of more positive interaction between professional and parent is provided by Baer et al. (This Volume),who report that instructing mothers to count the appropriate behaviors of their children led to increases in maternal attention to the child's appropriate behavior as well as to increases in the child's appropriate behavior and decreases in inappropriate behavior. These studies suggest that research on parent-professional-child interaction may provide a basis for more effective prevention and remediation of children's behavioral and developmental problems through the current professions and institutions.

The hypothesis that policies and practices of the professions and institutions may influence maternal attachment and maternal care is suggested by a study of maternal attachment as influenced by amount of contact between mother and infant in the hospital after delivery (Klaus, Jerauld, Kreger, McAlphine, Steffa, & Kennell, 1972). Increases in mother-infant contact in the hospital were related to increases in maternal attachment to the infant at one month of age, suggesting that separation of mother and infant may interfere with the maternal bonding process. Earlier research on mammals (Hersher, Moore & Richmond, 1958) and studies of maternal attachment to low birth weight babies in intensive care nurseries (Fanaroff, Kennell & Klaus, 1972) would support this conclusion. Such research raises the important question of whether our current policies of direct care for children by the health and education professions may be impairing rather than supporting parental care and education of the child. The evidence of the major influence of parents upon children as well as evaluations of child-centered as contrasted to parent-centered intervention programs (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Schaefer, 1972) support the conclusion that supplementing the child's care, which may supplant the parent's care, is less cost-effective than strengthening and supporting family care. Perhaps the focus of intervention research should move from the child and from the family to an analysis of the professions and institutions that relate to the child and family.

Research on the effects of group day care for infants and young children as contrasted to home care may have the most immediate application to planning for child care. Although detailed analyses of the child's experiences in the home and in group day care are need, summative evaluation supports the hypothesis that some types of infant day care may be less effective than home care. Papousek (1970), in summarizing the Czeckoslovakian research on the effects of relatively low adult child ratios in group day care, states:

> In comparison with children brought up at home, the children in day-care centers usually show delays in the development of speech, oculomotor coordination, and social behavior, although in somatic and motor development they are equal or slightly better than children in families . . . . In a good institution, infants admitted before the fifth month of life crawled and walked sooner than infants admitted from their homes at later ages, but they were slower in speech development. The differences are believed to prove that t[illegible]itive influence of group rearing in infants is overshadowed by the negative consequences of parental deprivation.

Papousek states that research has contributed to changes in social policy in child care, stressing more home care for infants, but concludes:

> Unfortunately, one has to rely more on practical and clinical experiences than on theoretical issues and experimental verification, but this only reflects the actual state of knowledge of such an important process as that of bringing up our future generation.

An American study of children in a university day care center (Schwarz, Strickland & Krolick, 1974) observed differences in behavior in the center between children who entered during the first year of life and children who entered at three and four years. The authors report that, "The infant day-care group was found to be significantly more aggressive, motorically active and less cooperative with adults." In another study of infant day care, Blehar (1974) reports:

> Findings indicate qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relationship in day-care children, and this was attributed to the

> disruptive effects of frequent daily separations. The child's age at the time that day care began influenced the kind of disturbance shown. Those who started day care at age two showed avoidant behavior upon reunion with the mother, whereas those who started day care at age three showed anxious, ambivalent behavior.

While infant day care may show immediate negative effects upon the child's relationship with the parent and with other adults, an analysis of its influence on the child's subsequent development is needed. Thus, comprehensive, longitudinal studies of different types of child care are needed to determine short-term and long-term effects upon the child's development.

The need for longitudinal research is closely associated with the idea of attempting to provide a stable and continuing, growth-promoting environment for the child. The statement that some problems require a longitudinal research design by Gallagher, Ramey, Haskins and Finkelstein (This Volume) is supported by the differences between short-term and long-term evaluations of the effects of child-centered and parent-centered early intervention (Bronfrenbrenner, 1974). Baer, et al.'s statement (This Volume) that, "the maintenance and generalization [illegible] these behavioral gains depend on supporting environments which continue to provide appropriate consequences", suggests that the problem of the stability of child behavior is highly related to the problem of the stability of the child's environment, with both problems requiring longitudinal research for their solution.

The highly influential conclusions of Bloom (1964) on the early stabilization of the child's level of intellectual functioning were derived from research on children reared in their own families, probably a relatively stable environment. However, a hypothesis that the stability of the child's level of intellectual functioning may be highly related to the stability of the child's environment is supported by findings of Clarke and Clarke (1959) and Feurerstein (1970) of increases in intellectual level of children who are reared in relatively depriving environments and then moved to more stimulating environments. Further supporting the hypothesis of the need for continuing stimulation are findings that the mean IQ level of children from less advantaged families can be increased by child-centered intervention, but that the level decreases when these interventions are terminated (Bronfrenbrenner, 1974). These research findings indicate the need to shift from the study of early environment and early stimulation to the study of the continuing environment that fosters growth and development throughout the child's life space and life span (Schaefer, 1970).

The fact that the parent, in most cases, provides a continuing and important influence or a child's life suggests that parent-centered intervention might be the logical focus in the attempt to have an enduring impact on the child's environment. The greater cost-effectiveness of parent-centered as contrasted to child-centered intervention is suggested by comparing the results of a child-centered infant education program (Schaefer & Aaronson, 1972) with a parent-centered program (Levenstein, 1970). The child-centered program consisted of over 300 home visits over a 21 month period which resulted in an IQ difference of 17 points between tutored and untutored groups, while the parent-centered program consisted of approximately 32 visits over a seven month period which resulted in a similar 17 point IQ gain in the tutored subjects. The parent-centered program thus showed equal effectiveness with less cost at the end of the tutoring periods. Follow-up on the child-centered program showed no differences between the tutored and untutored children at the end of first grade, while follow-ups on the parent-centered program showed relatively good long-term results (Bronfrenbrenner, 1974). Schaefer and Aaronson (1972) suggest that the child-centered program started too late--the child showed effects of deprivation at the time intervention began at fifteen months--; ended too early--the child's IQ scores dropped after tutoring was discontinued at three years of age--; and had the wrong focus--upon the child rather than the parent. Current professions and institutions that provide brief periods of child-centered remediation through supplementing family care also start late, end too early, and have less long-term impact because they are not fostering enduring changes in the child's interaction with his continuing family and community environment.

Several different studies which found that stable patterns of parent behavior may develop during the early weeks, months and years of life (Schaefer & Bayley, 1960; Moss, 1967; Broussard & Hartner, 1971; Bell & Ainsworth, 1972) and the findings that maternal and infant care in the hospital may influence maternal attachment and maternal care (Klaus, et al., 1972) suggest that early infancy may be a promising period for parent-centered intervention. Perhaps enduring patterns of parent-child relationships that have early, continuing and cumulative effects upon child development (Schaefer & Bayley, 1963) are established during infancy. The hypothesis that such patterns of parent behavior have a cumulative effect upon child behavior, while brief interventions have minimal long-term impact is supported by Rutter's (1971) conclusion that brief separations from the parent have a minimal, long-term impact on child adjustment while enduring husband-wife, father-child, and mother-child relationships have a significant relationship to behavior problems in boys. Further longitudinal research on the stability of child behavior and functioning and on the hypothesis that stable patterns of parent behavior have early, continuing and cumulative effects upon child development is needed as a guide for future intervention.

The findings of intervention research up to the present have many implications both for the scope and focus of future research and for the professions and institutions which provide child care services. Some of the specific areas which have been mentioned as needing research attention are: the whole network of family relationships, including the father-child and husband-wife dyads; patterns of parent-child-professional interaction; and policies and practices of the professions and institutions which provide services to children and families. Longitudinal research on the short- and long-term effects of different types of child care and on the stability of patterns of parental care and of child behavior and functioning is also needed. In addition, new concepts and adequate methods with which to research these areas must be developed.

One important goal for intervention research might be the development of methods for strengthening and supporting family care for the child through the current professions and institutions. The reports of the favorable effects of rooming-in (McBryde, 1951), of increased contact between mother and infant at the time of delivery (Klaus, et al., 1972) and of parent centered interventions (Baer, et al. This Volume; Levenstein, 1970) suggest that it would be feasible to provide support for parental care through the existing professions and institutions if this were to become a major goal.

Both reviews of the influence of parent behavior upon the child's intellectual development and academic achievement (Hess, 1969; Schaefer, 1972) and reviews of the effects of parent-centered interventions (Lazar & Chapman, 1972; Bronfrenbrenner, 1974) point to the need for a shift from child-centered to parent-centered intervention in the professions and institutions which provide child care services. Yet, the current focus of hospital and pediatric outpatient care on the individual, both mother and child, and the emphasis on providing early schooling and developmental day care indicate that, at present, many professions and institutions are providing direct care and education of the child rather than strengthening and supporting the child's interactions in his family and community environment. More research on the assumptions, policies, practices, and effects of current services for children and families would help to provide a basis for interventions focussed upon the professions and institutions as well as for interventions focussed upon families and children.

A broadened focus in research relevant to intervention would be supported by the perspectives of ecology, the science of "the interrelationships of living things to one another and to their environment (Studdard, 1973)." Bronfrenbrenner (1974), from his analysis of the effectiveness of early intervention, has stressed a strategy of ecological intervention. The review of social ecology and of psychological environments by Insel and Moos (1974) has also emphasized the need to conceptualize the "psychological and social dimensions of the environment in a framework of person-milieu interaction." Research on networks of family relationships among father, mother, child and sibling and research on the influence of social supports, social stresses and of the professions and institutions upon family care of children and child development move toward the analysis of the ecosystem that influences child development. The possibility that the professions may intentionally supplement, but inadvertently supplant, family care of the child and the growing evidence that strengthening and supporting family care through parent-centered programs is more cost-effective than supplementing through child-centered programs supports the need for research on the professions and institutions as well as on families and children. A broader scope of research suggested by a social ecological analysis of influences on child development and a focus upon the professions and institutions as well as upon families and children would contribute substantially to future intervention and to more effective child care, child health, and education professions and institutions.

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Senator MONDALE. I remember some years ago visiting your project and going to some of the homes with people who were working with parents and children in the project and being most impressed.

I agree, and my staff who has done a great deal of work in this area agrees with you on the impressiveness of the Levenstein project and the value that seems to follow from working with parents.

However, I have a good deal of trouble seeing that as the only option because I don't see any way of changing either the way in which funds are appropriated, or the way Americans look at the problem of providing an adequate opportunity to work. As you know, over one-third of the mothers of preschool children work and I think most of them do it because they do not have any alternative. They have to work.

Efforts to provide funding—AFDC is the chief vehicle—which would make it possible for the mother to stay home or the parent to stay home simply have been inadequate. As a matter of fact, I think that in a majority of the States, if the father is employed, we make him leave that family so they can qualify for AFDC funds.

So the bias toward work pressures—drastically pressures—parents out of the home, particularly the poorest parents. They go out and try to find work; many of them, find work and many of their children—millions of them—are left behind in day care, much of which, as you know, is just totally inadequate, or they become "latch key" children with no day care at all. What we must face in this issue is what do we do about these problems? Bill Shannon wrote this article a couple of years ago. "Don't do this," he said. "Increase aid to the families so they can stay home." But, if anything, the levels have dropped since then.

We just heard this from the Congressman from Utah who is on the Appropriations Committee, and I'm going to look at the next appropriation that comes over here and see how many hundreds of dollars are added to the families of the unemployed of this country, and I will bet you that it will actually be less—not because he is an ineffective Congressman, but because, you know, there is absolutely no public support for that kind of approach. We simply have to face the alternatives and the realities, and that is what makes it so difficult.

Now, I have to adjourn this hearing for about 10 or 15 minutes and we will be right back. There is a very, very compelling matter on the Senate floor. We are about to pass the Norwegian-American Day resolution, and since I am its chief sponsor I have to go.

[A short recess was taken.]

Senator STAFFORD [presiding]. The subcommittee will come to order. The Chair will invite Senator Buckley to make a statement at this time, and then the Chair will turn the floor over to Dr. Lorand.

## STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES L. BUCKLEY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator BUCKLEY. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much, and I want to thank you and the other members of the subcommittee for not only acceding to my request that certain of the witnesses be heard, but also for extending to me the opportunity to make a statement of my own.

I believe that this legislation is much improved from its 1971 and 1972 predecessors. However, I am still concerned about certain inherent aspects and expectations of the legislation, and about inevitable pressures from political and vested interest groups on its direction and implementation.

I refer in part to the pressure for institutionalized care in day care centers. The potential harm to young children from the often impersonal, inadequate care received in the centers has been documented, and I have several articles and papers discussing these facts that I would like to submit for the record. I believe that a generally preferable approach is that of neighborhood family day care homes discussed in articles I am submitting for the record by Dr. Arthur Emlen, an expert in the field who has had numerous contracts with the Children's Bureau of HEW.

Family day care more clearly approximates the developmental ideal of home and maternal care, which I understand Dr. Lorand will discuss briefly. Such day care homes can be regulated and linked to specal public delivery systems for health, nutritional, educational, and other services. Those teachers who are in search of jobs could be trained as home start type teachers working with family day care mothers and with parents and children in their own home.

This approach to early childhood education, I might add, has been demonstrated generally to be much more effective and less costly than the Head Start approach to ECE, to which I believe Dr. Schaefer will attest. Of course, there will still be the need to overcome the reluctance of some teachers to deal directly with parents.

A related aspect that concerns me is the endorsement implicit in the legislation, and explicit elsewhere, of institutional early childhood education. But, as I just pointed out, the evidence indicates that home-based ECE is more effective and less costly.

A recent evaluation of HEW's home start program is included in the materials that I am submitting for the record. In fact, the research now coming to light indicates that institutionalized ECE may even be generally detrimental to a child's future educational achievement. Again, I am submitting a preliminary paper on this issue by Dr. Raymond Moore, director of the Hewett Research Center, given in 1973 at the International Research Institute for Man-Centered Environmental Sciences in Germany.

Another problem I see in the legislation is an implicit, if not explicit, endorsement of the acceptability and appropriateness of institutional day care for the general child population, a view unequivocally opposed by a group of Washington, D.C., child psychiatrists in 1972 and recently reaffirmed by them. They argue that such day care presents a serious psychological hazard for the average young child.

Mr. Chairman, I support quality child care when it is necessary, and I support special high quality child care services for those children who are developed mentally disadvantaged, handicapped, abused, neglected or otherwise receiving harmful care, but I would also point out that high quality care can also be given to the average child by a grandmother or a neighbor.

The vital ingredients of quality care are not the services and facilities provided. They are the nature, frequency, and consistency of the interaction and the relationship between the child and its caregiver. And I use the singular "caregiver" advisedly, for multiple caregivers tend to create multiple psychological problems in young children.

On occasion it has been said that this legislation is essentially intended to upgrade present day care services, yet the implication is unmistakable both in the legislation and in various statements made about it that this is but the beginning of a program which is intended to become vastly larger in the future.

By its very nature, the legislation would stimulate a demand for institutional day care services.

In 1972 I predicted that new day care legislation would stimulate a demand for such services which would, in turn, lead to inexorable economic pressures for reducing the quality of those services, which consequently would lead to irreparable psychological damage to many young children.

Just this past week, I urged HEW not to further water down its new proposed child-staff ratios for day care centers which already are watered down compared to those contained in the amendments, which I and Senator Mondale introduced, to the 1972 day care legislation. The response was that HEW was under nearly irresistable pressure, particularly economic pressure, to weaken the standards.

Present Federal day care standards are already being violated. These are, incidentally, standards that Senator Mondale and I participated in establishing in the first instance.

Another issue which has been given only cursory and superficial examination is the question of need for new day care services. While there is some need for improved day care services, the evidence does not show a need for a large new program. What is known of demand indicates that there is relatively little demand by mothers for day care centers, given other child care alternatives. And yet, there are powerful professional interest groups exerting strong pressures for this undesired and undersirable form of child care. A report entitled "Children of Working Mothers," which appeared in the May 1974 Monthly Labor Review, pointed out that as yet, "Little is known about the current supply of and demand for child care services and facilities." The article called for a new survey, as did the Child Welfare League of America in its recent testimony before congressional committees. I would also urge such a study.

The need for a vast day care program is usually based on the relatively few licensed day care centers in existence compared to the much larger number of preschool children whose mothers work. This approach assumes that such children are receiving inadequate care if they are not in a day care center. Research has indicated, however those children not in day care centers are usually receiving as good, and often better, care than they would in the impersonal, institutional setting of a day care center. Dr. Arthur Emlen, director of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services, Portland State University, has done and published considerable research on the nature and supply of informal neighborhood child care services. He has found that a large and generally quite effective and reliable network of neighborhood child care arrangements exists in most areas. He urges that we build on the existence and the strengths of this natural system, rather than try to supplant it.

What is known of demand indicates that there is relatively little demand by mothers for day care centers, given other child care alternatives, and yet there are powerful professional interest groups exerting strong pressures for this undesired and undersirable form of child care.

Many women's groups have applauded and even demanded legislation such as this in order, it is said, that women may be freed from child care responsibilities and be better able to fulfill their potential by going to work.

Mr. Chairman, such a position underestimates, as does our society in general, the great contribution made to the well-being of our society by mothers in the role of homemakers, in the role of educators of young children. There are few jobs more important and less honored today in our society.

In this regard, I would like also to submit a most interesting document, the Statement of Principles of the Women's Action Alliance of Australia.

In connection with this issue, Mr. Chairman, a choice has to be made: Are we, in this kind of legislation, in favor of the rights of children? Are we trying to foster their welfare? Or the rights of women's liberation, as well as the interests of various professional groups?

Surely both sets of rights have significant value and validity. Yet, they are rights in conflict and very hard to reconcile.

As numerous child specialists have noted, you cannot have it both ways Dr. Humberto Niagera, director of the Child Psychoanalytic Institute of the Children's Hospital of the University of Michigan, stated the problem well, and I quote: "It is most unfortunate that many serious issues have attached themselves to the question of day care centers. For example, women's liberation movements, in their legitimate search for equality of rights and opportunity made blind demands for day care facilities without considering *the equal rights of the child to develop intellectually and emotionally as fully as possible. . . .* (original emphasis.)

"I want to make it clear," he continues,

> that I have no objection whatsoever to women's legitimate rights for equality of opportunity, education, and the like, but I do have, as I stated elsewhere (in 1972), the strongest objection to neglecting the similarly legitimate rights of infants, especially since they cannot speak up for themselves and cannot look after their best interests.

This committee must choose, and I assume that the Congress itself must choose, which of the overriding concerns will prevail. I believe that this legislation must focus primarily on the rights and benefits to be derived by the children concerned.

While it is heralded as supportive of the family, I am afraid that this legislation accommodates and encourages, by subsidy and the subtle endorsement, the socioeconomic pressures and factors undermining the family in our society today. Some of these pressures and factors have been well-discussed by Dr. Bronfenbrenner in his recent article: The Origins of Alienation.

We have taken a stand against the harm to the natural environment which our materialist, industrialed society promotes. It is also similarly time, Mr. Chairman, to take a stand againts the harm which our modern society, including our Government, does to the family.

Unfortunately, this legislation seems to do the opposite, by directly subsidizing and by subtly encouraging or coercing mothers to leave the home. We should instead explore ways by which public policy can help strengthen the family, the most important social unit in society, and help to discourage the separation of parents and children, as well as husbands and wives, which lead to so much personal and social alienation and destructiveness in our society.

I would like to close by quoting from a speech by a very wise and good woman, Annikki Suviranta, given at the 12th Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics in Helsinki in 1972—and I am quoting now, Mr. Chairman—

> In primitive countries children are brought up and educated entirely at home. In the industrialized state education is being shifted more and more to the community starting from increasingly younger ages. Nowadays parents have very little say in what their children are taught. Sometimes they do not even know what their children are being taught. In other words, education is becoming totalitarian, something imposed from the top downward. To give their children the confidence and security they need to grow into balanced individuals, parents should look after them themselves and keep them company as much as possible in early childhood. This means that parents must alter their order of priorities, deciding how to spend their free time.

Mr. Chairman, the statement goes on for a little while. I would like to just introduce it for the record.

Mr. Chairman, as I indicated at the outset, I have a number of studies, papers, and articles which I have requested placed in the hearing record. I also would like to ask that the written statements of a number of individuals who were unable to appear in person be added to the record, and I would like to ask how long the record will stay open.

Senator MONDALE. Two weeks.

Senator BUCKLEY [continuing]. I would like to hear the testimony of the witnesses that you were kind enough to invite at my recommendation, but, unfortunately, there are three other committee meetings I am supposed to be attending.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Senator. We appreciate your statement and we appreciate your interest in this whole area.

We stand together in the need for minimum day care standards. Once a year the Mondale-Buckley axis assembles on the floor on that issue, and I hope we have done some good.

As I understand your statement—I did not hear it all—it indicates support for quality home care—family care, which is one element in this legislation which I think is developing as one area of consensus, and I am most grateful for your contribution.

Mr. Brademas.

Mr. BRADEMAS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have no questions for the distinguished Senator from New York, but only two or three quick observations.

One, I want to thank him for his thoughtful and articulate expression of his views.

Second, to commend him on his concern for child day care standards.

Third, to observe that the bill under consideration, of course, is not simply a child day care bill, although the Senators' criticisms were mostly leveled in that direction, but it is most deliberately designed to be a child and family services bill.

Fourth, to remark [illegible] although he suggests, as did President Nixon in his veto message, [illegible] this legislation would encourge mothers with young children to go off to work, in point of fact, if he will turn to page 2 of Dr. Bronfenbrenner's statement, he will note that the authority he quoted will be testifying later. He notes there are already absent the passage of the legislation under consideration many, many—indeed, millions of mothers in the United States with children, many of them under preschool age, who are already working.

Finally, I note that, as he did quote Dr. Bronfenbrenner, who will be able to speak for himself, with approval, it ought to be noted that Dr. Bronfenbrenner's statement says that he regards the bill under consideration as an absolute necessity.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. Chisholm. I would like to make an observation or perhaps ask a question. Of course, I did not hear all of your testimony. I came in at the tail end of your testimony, but from what I have gathered, I presume that you are against most of the bill, most of the sections of the bill, correct?

Senator Buckley. I would not go that far by any means, but I am concerned about, as I tried to indicate in my statement, the drive in society, which I think is reflected in and is fostered by this bill, toward institutionalized day care which removes that intimacy between a very young child, an infant, and a given adult.

Mrs. Chisholm. All right. Having said that, it would seem to me that basically most people really believe or really feel that the first 6 or 7 years of a child's life is very important, to the extent that a mother is able to be in that home setting to give the emotional, intellectual, psychological security that can only be gathered by a mother-child relationship. That would be the ideal; that would be the desirable thing in our society.

But looking at the statistics and looking at the reasons for mothers having to go out to work places us in another category, if indeed we are a society that is interested in caring for the children while these mothers have to work.

I think we have to realize that many of the mothers that are now working today are sole heads of households; they are working because they must supplement the family income in an inflationary economy where food, rent, and clothing takes up a lot of the income; they are working for pin money, they are working because there is a necessity, and it would seem to me that we would have to make sure if we are interested in the children that we do have day care services that do take into account the intellectual, the physical and the psychological needs of the children.

I am not talking about those women who might want to leave the home in order to fulfill themselves, if you will, and, you know, have some institution take care of the children. I think there is a realistic situation in this country today where every year more and more women are joining the labor force and, therefore, need this kind of service so that they can make their productive contribution to society and not be on public assistance rolls, welfare rolls—"those bums on welfare," and all of the other terminology that is used by people in this society sometimes who can't help themselves.

And I was just interested in this question of institutional day care services. You mentioned that concept twice. Exactly what do you mean? I want to make sure I understand your definition of institutional day care services.

Senator **Buckley**. The kind where you have a professional staff and a structured, formal program. You are apt to have a turnover, as well as a multiplicity of caregivers, who have little interest in the individual child. You are apt, because of the economic pressures that I spoke of, to have too small a ratio between the caregiver and the number of children, which is demonstrably, on the average, harmful to the child.

What I am proposing and advocating as an alternative to that is to have these more informal—or to encourage more informal situations where you have an older woman, the same person who will be there day in and day out, a relative or someone else, more in the home, more accessible, with continuity—the continuity of affection and love and interaction. At the same time, there could be a linkup with public health and other services.

This is the healthy environment for the child.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. All right. I think, though, that you might be overlooking one factor here, and that is—I can understand your point of view, but I cannot understand your point of view from the standpoint that if a mother has to be out in the fields working and has to make a contribution, there is much more to taking care of a child than TLC.

The whole question of the child's intellectual and physical development, emotional development, that even a grandmother or a well-meaning aunt might not be able to give to this child as this child is developing and maturing over a period of years.

Senator **Buckley**. This is what I hope your hearing and the record, Mr. Chairman, will develop—and I will have to leave after this—whether or not in fact the average women with the average child may not be more beneficial—whether the natural mother or not, if you have a constancy of relationship—whether or not that is more beneficial than a whole bunch of experts dragging in and delivering a more impersonal environment.

I think there is substantial evidence to suggest that the latter can be harmful and deprive the child of the ability to develop properly intellectually, emotionally, and physically.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. I woud like to question you further, but I understand you have to leave, and I will get the questions to you in writing.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Senator Buckley with accompanying material follow:]

STATEMENT BY
SEN. JAMES L. BUCKLEY
ON S. 626 AND H.R. 2966,
CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES LEGISLATION,
BEFORE THE
SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN AND YOUTH AND THE
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SPECIAL EDUCATION
JUNE 19, 1975

[While I have but a few minutes before I must leave to attend one of my own committee meetings, I would like to offer a few of my thoughts on this legislation for the Committee's consideration.]

I believe that this legislation is much improved from its 1971 and 1972 predecessors. However, I am still concerned about certain inherent aspects and expectations of the legislation, and about inevitable pressures from political and vested interest groups on the direction and implementation of this legislation. I refer, in part, to the pressure for institutionalized care in day care centers. The potential harm to young children from the often impersonal, inadequate care received in such centers has been documented, and I have several articles and papers discussing these facts to submit for the record. I believe that a generally preferable approach is that of neighborhood family day care homes, discussed in articles I wish to submit for the record by Dr. Arthur Emlen, an expert in the field who has had numerous contracts with the Children's Bureau of H.E.W. Family day care more closely approximates the developmental ideal of home and maternal care, which I understand

Dr. Lorand will discuss briefly. Such day care homes can be regulated and linked to special public delivery systems for health, nutritional, educational, and other services. Those teachers who are in search of jobs could be trained as Home Start-type teachers, working with family day care mothers and with parents and children in their own homes. This approach to early childhood education, I might add, has been demonstrated generally to be much more effective and less costly than the Headstart Approach to ECE, to which I believe Dr. Schaefer will attest. Of course, there would be a need to overcome the reluctance of some teachers to deal with parents.

A related aspect that concerns me is the endorsement implicit in the legislation and explicit elsewhere, of institutional Early Childhood Education. But, as I just pointed out, the evidence indicates that home-based ECE is more effective and less costly. A recent evaluation of HEW's HomeStart program is included in the materials I have for the record. In fact, research now coming to light indicates that institutionalized ECE may even be generally detrimental to a child's future educational achievement. I am submitting a preliminary paper on this issue by Dr. Raymond Moore, Director of the Hewitt Research Center, given in 1973 at the International Research Institute for Man-Centered Environmental Sciences and Medicine in Germany.

Another problem I see in the legislation is an implicit, if not explicit, endorsement of the acceptability and appropriateness of institutional day care for the general child population - a view unequivocally opposed by a group of Washington, D.C. child psychiatrists in 1972, and recently reaffirmed by them. They argue that such day care presents serious psychological hazards for the average young child.

Mr. Chairman, I support quality child care when it is necessary, and I support special high quality child care services for those children who are developmentally disadvantaged, handicapped, abused, neglected, or otherwise receiving harmful care. But I would also point out that high quality care can also be given to the average child by a grandmother or a neighbor. The vital ingredients of quality care are not the services and the facilities provided; they are the nature, frequency and consistency of the interaction and the relationship between the child and its caregiver - and I use the singular "caregiver" advisedly - for multiple caregivers tend to create multiple psychological problems in young children.

In addition it has been said that this legislation is essentially intended to upgrade present day care services. But the implication is unmistakeable both in the legislation, and in various statements made about it, that this is but the beginning of a program which is intended to become vastly larger in the future. By its very nature the legislation would stimulate a demand for institutional day care services.

In 1972 I predicted that new day care legislation would
inflate demand for such services, which would in turn lead
inexorable economic pressures for reducing the quality of
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Another issue which has been given only cursory and super-
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is relatively little demand by mothers for day care centers,

given other child care alternatives. And yet, there are powerful professional interest groups exerting strong pressures for this undesired and undesirable form of child care.

Many women's groups have applauded, and even demanded, legislation such as this in order, it is said, that women may be freed from child care responsibilities and may be more able to fulfill their potential by going to work. Mr. Chairman, such a position underestimates, as does our society in general, the great contribution made to the well-being of our society by mothers in the role of homemakers. There are few jobs more important, and less-honored, in our society. In this regard, I would like also to submit a most interesting document, the Statement of Principles of the Women's Action Alliance of Australia.

In connection with this issue, Mr. Chairman, a choice has to be made. Are we, in this kind of legislation, in favor of the rights of children, or the rights of Women's Liberationists, as well as the interests of various professional groups? Surely both sets of rights have significant value and validity, but they are rights in conflict. As numerous child specialists have noted, you cannot have it both ways. Dr. Humberto Nagera, Director of the Child Psychoanalytic Institute at the Children's Hospital of the University of Michigan, stated the problem well: "It is most unfortunate that many spurious issues have attached themselves to the question of Day Care Centers. For example, women liberation movements, that in their legitimate search for equality of rights and opportunities make blind demands for Day Care facilities without considerihg the equal rights of the child to develop intellectually and emotionally as fully as possible. ...I want to make it quite clear that I have no objection whatsoever to women's legitimate rights for equality of opportunities, education and the like. But I do have, as I state elsewhere (1972), the strongest objection to neglecting the similarly legitimate rights of infants, especially since they cannot speak up for themselves and cannot look after their best interest." These committees must choose, and I assume that their overriding concern will remain the rights of children who have no organized lobby of their own.

While it is heralded as supportive of the family, I am afraid that this legislation accommodates and encourages, by subsidy and subtle endorsement, the socio-economic pressures and factors undermining the family in our society today. Some of these pressures and factors have been well discussed by Dr. Bronfenbrenner in his recent article, "The Origins of Alienation."

We have taken a stand against the harm to the natural environment which our materialist, industrialized society promotes. It is also similarly time to take a stand against the harm which our modern society, including our government, does to the family. Unfortunately, this legislation seems to do the opposite, by directly subsidizing and by subtly encouraging or coercing mothers to leave the home. We should instead explore ways by which public policy can help strengthen the family, the most important social unit in society, and help to discourage the separation of parents and children, as well as husbands and wives, which leads to so much personal and social alienation and destructiveness in our society.

I would like to close by quoting from a speech by a very wise and good woman, Annikki Suviranta, given at the 12th Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics, in Helsinki Finland in 1972.

Mr. Chairman, as I indicated, I have a number of studies, papers and articles which I request be placed in the hearing record. I would also ask that the written statements of a number of individuals who were unable to appear in person be added to the record if their statements arrive before the record is closed - and may I ask when that will be?

In primitive countries, children are brought up and educated entirely at home. . . . In the industrialized State, education is being shifted more and more to the community, starting from increasingly younger ages. Nowadays parents have very little say in what their children are taught. Sometimes they don't even know what they're being taught. In other words, education is becoming totalitarian--something imposed from the top downwards.

To give their children the confidence and security they need to grow into balanced individuals, parents should look after them themselves and keep them company as much as possible in early childhood. This means that parents must alter their order of priorities in deciding how to spend their free time.

Industrialized society often alienates parents and children--especially as the children grow older. Young people at school learn other values and a different culture from that of their parents. To satisfy the economic demands of the young, parents have to spend more and more time just making money. This leaves them very little time to follow changes in Society and bring their children up accordingly. Young people alienated from their families are insecure and unhappy. They seek a meaning to their lives, but they do it in ways that are not always best for Society.

But the main problems of industrialized society are moral and ethical, not material. Their solution has posed a serious challenge to the family and home. . . . If it fails, the result may well be a form of human pollution that will destroy Mankind.

The economic valuation of housework is rising--along with women's wages on the labour market. It has been found that services supplied within the home are quite as valuable as the same services purchased from outside. In just the same way. I think people will before long come to realize that the "psychological and emotional services" provided at home--mental health, equilibrium and comfort--are the most important things in life. In the abundance of commodities supplied by industrialization, we must learn how to set up orders of priority and make sensible choices. Priority must go to spiritual values. . . . We are learning to recognize our rights. We must also recognize our duties and responsibilities--and do so on a world scale.

Statement of Hon. James L. Buckley, a U.S. Senator from the State of New York

Mr. Chairman:

I want to thank you for the opportunity to come before you today and to present two witnesses both experienced and knowledgeable in the problems and developmental needs of young children. Dr. Earl S. Schaefer is a psychologist who is well-known in the fields of child development and family relations. He is past Chief of the Section on Early Child Care Research at the National Institute of Mental Health, where he did extensive work on early childhood education projects in Washington, D. C. At present he is a professor in the Department of Maternal and Child Health and Senior Investigator in the Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center, at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He is a fellow of the American Psychological Association, as well as a member of the National Council of Family Relations, the Society for Research in Child Development, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Public Health Association. He is currently conducting research through grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Office of Child Development at HEW. Dr. Schaefer has published innumerable articles on child development and early childhood development and early childhood education in leading scholarly and popular journals.

Dr. Rhoda L. Lorand received a Doctorate in psychology from Columbia University. She is a professor in the Graduate Department of

Guidance and Counseling at Long Island University, where she conducts courses and workshops for teachers and probation officers. Since 1950, Dr. Lorand has also conducted the private practice of psychotherapy with children, young adults, and parents, specializing in the treatment of children with learning disabilities. As a teacher, she was on the Mayor's Committee on Mursery Schools for underprivileged children in New York City in 1944 and 1945. From 1951 to 1958, she was on the staff of the New York Medical Center, specializing in the treatment of children and in parent guidance. She also serves as a psychotherapist at the Vanderbilt Clinic of Psychiatry of Presbyterian Hospital. Dr. Lorand has published the "Therapy of Learning Problems" in the book, Adolescents, Psychoanalytic Approach to Problems and Therapy. Her book, Love, Sex and the Teenager, has been published in German and Spanish and was selected by the National Book Committee to be included in all VISA portable Book Kits. Her husband is an internationally respected psychoanalyst and author.

[From the Congressional Record, Thursday, July 31, 1975, Vol. 121, No. 125]

## CHILD CARE LEGISLATION

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, I recently testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth regarding proposed child care legislation. Because this is an important issue and because I am seriously concerned by certain aspects of it, I ask unanimous consent that my testimony, with a minor revision, together with testimony of several witnesses whom I obtained for the hearing be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### STATEMENT BY SENATOR JAMES L. BUCKLEY

I believe that this legislation is much improved from its 1971 and 1972 predecessors. However, I am still concerned about certain inherent aspects and expectations of the legislation, and about inevitable pressures from political and vested interest groups on the direction and implementation of this legislation. I refer, in part, to the pressure for institutionalized care in day care centers. The potential harm to young children from the often impersonal, inadequate care received in such centers has been documented, and I have several articles and papers discussing these facts to submit for the record. I believe that a generally preferable approach is that of neighborhood family day care homes, discussed in articles I wish to submit for the record by Dr. Arthur Emlen, an expert in the field who has had numerous contracts with the Children's Bureau of H.E.W. Family day care more closely approximates the developmental ideal of home and maternal care, which I understand Dr. Lorand will discuss briefly.

Such day care homes can be regulated and linked to special public delivery systems for health, nutritional, educational, and other services. Those teachers who are in search of jobs could be trained as Home Start-type teachers, working with family day care mothers and with parents and children in their own homes. This approach to early childhood education, I might add, has been demonstrated generally to be much more effective and less costly than the Headstart approach to ECE, to which I believe Dr. Schaefer will attest. Of course, there would be a need to overcome the reluctance of some teachers to deal with parents.

A related aspect that concerns me is the endorsement implicit in the legislation and explicit elsewhere, of institutional Early Childhood Education. But, as I just pointed out, the evidence indicates that home-based ECE is more effective and less costly. A recent evaluation of HEW's HomeStart program is included in the materials I have for the record. In fact, research now coming to light indicates that institutionalized ECE may even be generally detrimental to a child's future educational achievement. I am submitting a preliminary paper on this issue by Dr. Raymond Moore, Director of the Hewitt Research Center, given in 1973 at the International Research Institute for Man-Centered Environmental Sciences and Medicine in Germany.

While there is some need for improved day care services, the evidence does not show a need for a large new program. What is known of demand indicates that there is relatively little demand by mothers for day care centers, given other child care alternatives. And yet, there are powerful professional interest groups exerting strong pressures for this undesired and undesirable form of child care. A report entitled "Children of Working Mothers," which appeared in the May 1974 *Monthly Labor Review*, pointed out that as yet "little is known about the current supply of and demand for child care services and facilities."

The article called for a new survey, as did the Child Welfare League of America in its recent testimony before Congressional committees. I would also urge such a study.

The need for a vast day care program is usually based on the relatively few licensed day care centers in existence compared to the much larger number of pre-school children whose mothers work. This approach assumes that such children are receiving inadequate care if they are not in a day care center. Research has indicated, however those children not in day care centers are usually receiving as good, and often better, care than they would in the impersonal, institutional setting of a day care center. Dr. Arthur Emlen, Director of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services, Portland State University, has done and published considerable research on the nature and supply of informal neighborhood child care services. He has found that a large and generally quite effective and reliable network of neighborhood child care arrangements exists in most areas. He urges that we build on the existence and the strengths of this natural system, rather than try to supplant it.

I support quality child care when it is necessary, and I support special high quality child care services for those children who are developmentally disadvantaged, handicapped, abused, neglected, or otherwise receiving harmful care. But I would also point out that high quality care can also be given to the average child by a grandmother or a neighbor. The vital ingredients of quality care are not the services and the facilities provided; they are the nature, frequency and consistency of the interaction and the relationship between the child and its caregiver—and I use the singular "caregiver" advisedly—for multiple caregivers tend to create multiple psychological problems in young children.

A related problem I see in the legislation is an implicit, if not explicit, endorsement of the acceptability and appropriateness of institutional day care for the general child population—a view unequivocally opposed by a group of Washington, D.C. child psychiatrists in 1972, and recently reaffirmed by them. They argue that such day care presents serious psychological hazards for the average young child.

On occasion it has been said that this legislation is essentially intended to upgrade present day care services. But the implication is unmistakable both in the legislation, and in various statements made about it, that this is but the beginning of a program which is intended to become vastly larger in the future. By its very nature the legislation would stimulate a demand for institutional day care services.

In 1972 I predicted that new day care legislation would stimulate demand for such services, which would in turn lead to inexorable economic pressures for reducing the quality of those services, and consequently would lead to irreparable psychological damage to many young children. Present Federal day care standards are already being violated. And just this past week I urged HEW not to further water down its new proposed child/staff ratios for day care centers which already are watered down compared to those endorsed in the 1972 day care legislation. The response was that HEW was under nearly irresistable pressure, particularly economic, to weaken the standards.

Another issue which has been given only cursory and superficial examination is the question of need for new day care services. A report entitled "Children of Working Mothers," which appeared in the May 1974 *Monthly Labor Review*, pointed out that still "little is known about the current supply of and demand for child care services and facilities." The article called for a new survey, as did the Child Welfare League of America in its testimony before these committees. Dr. Emlen, Professor at the School of Social Work, Portland State University, has done considerable work, however, on the nature and supply of informal neighborhood child care services. Articles by him which I have submitted at the outset of my testimony discuss this subject. What is known of demand indicates that there is relatively little demand by mothers for day care centers, given other child care alternatives. And yet, there are powerful professional interest groups exerting strong pressures for this undesired and undesirable form of child care.

Many women's groups have applauded, and even demanded, legislation such as this in order, it is said, that women may be freed from child care responsibilities and may be more able to fulfill their potential by going to work. Mr. Chairman, such a position underestimates, as does our society in general, the great contribution made to the well-being of our society by mothers in the role of homemakers. There are few jobs more important, and less-honored, in our society. In this regard, I would like also to submit a most interesting document, the Statement of Principles of the Women's Action Alliance of Australia.

In connection with this issue, Mr. Chairman, a choice has to be made. Are we, in this kind of legislation, in favor of the rights of children, or the rights of Women's Liberationists, as well as the interests of various professional groups? Surely both sets of rights have significant value and validity, but they are rights in conflict. As numerous child specialists have noted, you cannot have it both ways. Dr. Hunberto Nagera, Director of the Child Psychoanalytic Institute at the Children's Hospital of the University of Michigan, stated the problem well: "It is most unfortunate that many spurious issues have attached themselves to the question of Day Care Centers. For example, women liberation movements, that in their legitimate search for equality of rights and opportunities make blind demands for Day Care facilities without considering the equal rights of the child to develop intellectually and emotionally as fully as possible. . . . I want to make it quite clear that I have no objection whatsoever to women's legitimate rights for equality of opportunities, education and the like. But I do have, as I state elsewhere (1972), the strongest objection to neglecting the similarly legitimate rights of infants, especially since they cannot speak up for themselves and cannot look after their best interest." These committees must choose, and I assume that their overriding concern will remain the rights of children who have no organized lobby of their own.

While it is heralded as supportive of the family, I am afraid that this legislation accommodates and encourages, by subsidy and subtle endorsement, the socio-economic pressures and factors undermining the family in our society today. Some of these pressures and factors have been well discussed by Dr. Bronfenbrenner in his recent article, "The Origins of Alienation."

We have taken a stand against the harm to the natural environment which our materialist, industrialized society promotes. It is also similarly time to take a stand against the harm which our modern society, including our government, does to the family.

Unfortunately, this legislation seems to do the opposite, by directly subsidizing and by subtly encouraging or coercing mothers to leave the home. We should instead explore ways by which public policy can help strengthen the family, the most important social unit in society, and help to discourage the separation of parents and children, as well as husbands and wives, which leads to so much personal and social alienation and destructiveness in our society.

I would like to close by quoting from a speech by a very wise and good woman, Annikki Suviranta, given at the 12th Congress of the International Federation for Home Economics, in Helsinki Finland in 1972.

"In primitive countries, children are brought up and educated entirely at home. . . . In the industrialized State, education is being shifted more and more to the community, starting from increasingly younger ages. Nowadays parents have very little say in what their children are taught. Sometimes they don't even know what they're being taught. In other words, education is becoming totalitarian—something imposed from the top downwards.

"To give their children the confidence and security they need to grow into balanced individuals, parents should look after them themselves and keep them company as much as possible in early childhood. This means that parents must alter their order of priorities in deciding how to spend their free time.

"Industrialized society often alienates parents and children—especially as the children grow older. Young people at school learn other values and a different culture from that of their parents. To satisfy the economic demands of the young, parents have to spend more and more time just making money. This leaves them very little time to follow changes in Society and bring their children up accordingly. Young people alienated from their families are insecure and unhappy. They seek a meaning to their lives, but they do it in ways that are not always best for Society.

"But the main problems of industrialized society are moral and ethical, not material. Their solution has posed a serious challenge to the family and home. . . . If it fails, the result may well be a form of human pollution that will destroy Mankind.

"The economic valuation of housework is rising—along with women's wages on the labour market. It has been found that services supplied within the home are quite as valuable as the same services purchased from outside. In just the same way, I think people will before long come to realize that the "psychological and emotional services" provided at home—mental health, equilibrium and comfort—are the most important things in life. In the abundance of commodities supplied by industrialization, we must learn how to set up orders of priority and make sensible choices. Priority must go to spiritual values. . . . We are learning to recognize our rights. We must also recognize our duties and responsibilities—and do so on a world scale."

Mr. Chairman, as I indicated, I have a number of studies, papers and articles which I request be placed in the hearing record. I would also ask that the written statements of a number of individuals who were unable to appear in person be added to the record if their statements arrive before the record is closed.

Dr. Earl S. Schaefer is a psychologist who is well-known in the fields of child development and family relations. He is past Chief of the Section on Early Child Care Research at the National Institute of Mental Health, where he did extensive work on early childhood education projects in Washington, D.C. At present he is a professor in the Department of Maternal and Child Health and Senior Investigator in the Frank Porter Graham Child Development Center, at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He is a fellow of the American Psychological Association, as well as a member of the National Council of Family Relations, the Society for Research in Child Development, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the American Public Health Association. He is currently conducting research through grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Office of Child Development at HEW. Dr. Schaefer has published innumerable articles on child development and early childhood development and early childhood education in leading scholarly and popular journals.

Dr. Rhoda L. Lorand received a Doctorate in psychology from Columbia University. She is a professor in the Graduate Department of Guidance and Counseling at Long University, where she conducts courses and workshops for teachers and probation officers. Since 1950, Dr. Lorand has also conducted the private practice of psychotherapy with children, young adults, and parents, specializing in the treatment of children with learning disabilities. As a teacher, she was on the Mayor's Committee on Nursery Schools for underprivileged children in New York City in 1944 and 1945. From 1951 to 1958, she was on the staff of the New York Medical Center, specializing in the treatment of children and in parent guidance. She also serves as a psychotherapist at the Vanderbilt Clinic of Psychiatry of Presbyterian Hospital. Dr. Lorand has published the "Therapy of Learning Problems" in the book, *Adolescents, Psychoanalytic Approach to Problems and Therapy*. Her book, *Love, Sex and the Teenager*, has been published in German and Spanish and was selected by the National Book Committee to be included in all VISA portable Book Kits. Her husband is an internationally respected psychoanalyst and author.

Dr. Arthur C. Emlen is Director of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services, Portland State University. He has done extensive research on the availability and the provision of child services, and has published a considerable number of articles on these subjects.

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# Testimony regarding the Child and Family Services Act of 1975

Submitted to the

Subcommittee on Children and Youth

of the

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

United States Sentate

by

Arthur C. Emlen
Professor, School of Social Work
and
Director, Regional Research Institute
for Human Services

Portland State University

June 1975

My name is Arthur Emlen. I reside at Alder Circle, Lake Oswego, Oregon. I am Professor of Social Work and Director of the Regional Research Institute for Human Services at Portland State University in Portland, Oregon.

I appreciate having an opportunity to submit testimony before this committee. For the past ten years I have been doing research in child care, and I have given a good deal of thought to what our approach to day care should be in this country. I am generally regarded as a critic of the day care movement, but I have been, I hope, a constructive critic. I assess the need for day care programs very differently than the way the need usually is presented to legislative bodies. So I should like to summarize my concerns and make some recommendations.

This committee knows well that organized day care facilities still serve less than 10 percent of the children of working mothers and that disadvantaged children are not reached in radically greater proportions. The statistics of organized day care are used to argue for new facilities, as if they were the answer. I have criticized the need arguments in some detail in a series of articles (Emlen, 1972; 1973; 1974). It is my belief that we should face up to a hard conclusion: that the very concept of day care, as it has been packaged and delivered, is a seriously mistaken approach. It cannot be financed on a large scale because the costs exceed political reality; it offers to the poor highly visible benefits that the ineligible help to subsidize but cannot enjoy themselves. Day care as we know it could not be delivered on a large scale without creating ghastly bureaucratic problems having great risks for children and families.

Day care as we know it even if it could be financed and delivered on a large scale would not be used on a large scale, because it is not adapted to the family life or preferences of vast proportions of day care consumers.

Our national preoccupation with center care and an imagined need to create formally organized day care operations has blinded us to the existence and value of informal child care arrangements which are the day care resources for most children. The various kinds of informal child care -- home care and family day care, care by kin and care by kith — have great merit as well as some problems which have been neglected in legislation for services. My own research has documented the impressive viability of family day care and I mean small privately arranged, unlicensed informal care by friends and neighbors. Others have documented the developmental values for children of such care.

I believe that the evidence warrants a completely new way of looking at day care. Instead of asking, "How many new day care facilities should we create?", we should be asking, "How can we expand, facilitate, and improve existing patterns of child care that families are already using?" We should stop trying to use day care centers for full-day day care. With rare exceptions they are not well adapted to that purpose. Rather, the virtues of a limited group care experience should be made available to all children in a universal pre-school program two half-days per week. Informal arrangements in family homes should be relied upon for full-time care, just as they are now, only willingly and as a matter of sound policy. Such informal care does need to be strengthened in a variety of ways for which legislation would be required. For example, information and referral services made accessible at the neighborhood level are needed to remedy the distress of feeling that day care is not available, and to improve the manner in which child care is selected. Our own research in Portland, Oregon, has demonstrated how a neighborhood approach to information and referral can discover good child care and assist those seeking it.

With this bill and related legislation I would urge the committee to give priority to those policies, programs, and services that improve the quality of family and neighborhood life for all families, that strengthen the ability of parents to raise their children, as well as select and maintain supplemental child care arrangements of their own choosing.

The legislation we really need, in my judgment, will assure the minimum income needs of young families so they can purchase child care, if they wish and of the kind they want; provide universal pre-school as a part-time supplement to informal care; provide information and referral programs that can assess needs and resources in all neighborhoods; assist communities with a child care development program designed to improve family and neighborhood life and all existing forms of child care; and require effective regulation of formally organized day care.

The vast majority of informal child care arrangements involve small numbers of children well below the licensing limits. It is the licensable situations that have unfavorable adult-child ratios. Legislation that plays into the hands of those with a vested interest in formal day care facilities will only expand the scope of virtually uncontrollable approaches to day care. The informal systems of child care, although they defy official regulation, are amenable to improvement through highly decentralized neighborhood approaches. Needed, however, is a program to address needs at that level.

In conclusion, your committee probably hears mostly from those who seek to deliver child care services in organized facilities; my plea is to give serious attention to the vast majority of day care consumers who are not part of an articulate constituency. These consumers have not been represented fairly by the organized day care interests. Day care needs have been misdiagnosed and misrepresented by the day care movement. It is time to pursue a more democratic approach to day care that is based on greater faith in the child rearing potentials of family settings, if once given the benefit of supportive policies and services.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity. Attached also are copies of reprints that amplify my remarks.

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# NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY DAY CARE AS A CHILD-REARING ENVIRONMENT

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This paper was prepared for presentation at
the Annual Meeting of the National Association
for the Education of Young Children

Boston, Massachusetts

November 19, 1970

The Field Study is a research project of the Tri-County Community Council in cooperation with Portland State University and is supported by Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287 from the Children's Bureau, Office of Child Development, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

## NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY DAY CARE AS A CHILD-REARING ENVIRONMENT*

Arthur C. Emlen

In order to dramatize the issues for this paper I want to play a little with an analogy between family day care and the brood behavior of the brown-headed cowbird who lays her eggs in the nests of other birds. Family day care occurs when for some reason such as maternal employment a child is taken to the home of a nonrelative to spend part of his day. The other family's home is apt to be nearby in the neighborhood, and the care the result of a private arrangement made directly between the two families. Now the female cowbird is also a working mother who follows the cows or bison, and her mobility is made possible by an absence of a series of instincts: pairing, territory establishment, nest construction, brooding, and feeding.[1] Cowbirds select some surrogate nest-builder to sit on their eggs and raise their young. For use as a sitter they may pick some misleadingly attractive host, such as the robin, who rejects the strange eggs, or they pick a more tolerant homebody, such as the song sparrow, who cheerfully raises the mixed brood.[2] On this continent cowbirds have laid their eggs in the nests of some 206 different species of birds, though only half of these hosts (101) have been reported providing incubation of the eggs and successful rearing of the cowbird young.[3]

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*This paper is based on reports of the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System, which is funded by Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287 from the U. S. Children's Bureau. The Field Study is a project of the Tri-County Community Council in cooperation with Portland State University.

[1] Alden H. Miller, "Social Parasites Among Birds," Scientific Monthly, 62 (1946), 238-246.

[2] Herbert Friedmann, Host Relations of the Parasitic Cowbirds. Smithsonian Institution, U. S. National Museum Bulletin 233, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 72-73 and 168-171.

[3] Ibid., p. 38.

Though a successful adaptation, the cowbird's behavior is suspect and meets with disapproval. I should like to read to you a brief excerpt from The Burgess Bird Book for Children.[4] Though written fifty years ago it captures some attitudes that are still with us regarding the working mother and the care she finds for her children in the neighborhood.

> Having other things to attend to, or rather having other things to arouse his curiosity, Peter Rabbit did not visit the Old Orchard for several days. When he did it was to find the entire neighborhood quite upset. There was an indignation meeting in progress around the tree in which Chebec and his modest little wife had their home. How the tongues did clatter! Peter knew that something had happened, but though he listened with all his might he couldn't make head or tail of it.
>
> Finally Peter managed to get the attention of Jenny Wren. "What's happened?" demanded Peter. "What's all this fuss about?"
>
> Jenny Wren was so excited that she couldn't keep still an instant. Her sharp little eyes snapped, and her tail was carried higher than ever. "It's a disgrace! It's a disgrace to the whole feathered race, and something ought to be done about it!" sputtered Jenny. "I'm ashamed to think that such a contemptible creature wears feathers! I am so!"
>
> "But what's it all about?" demanded Peter impatiently. "Do keep still long enough to tell me. Who is this contemptible creature?"
>
> "Sally Sly," snapped Jenny Wren. "Sally Sly the Cowbird.

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[4] Thornton W. Burgess, The Burgess Bird Book for Children (N.Y.: Grossett & Dunlap, 1919, 1947, 1965).

I hoped she wouldn't disgrace the Old Orchard this year, but she has. When Mr. and Mrs. Chebec returned from getting their breakfast this morning they found one of Sally Sly's eggs in their nest. They are terribly upset, and I don't blame them. If I were in their place I simply would throw that egg out. That's what I'd do, I'd throw that egg out!"

Peter was puzzled. He blinked his eyes and stroked his whiskers as he tried to understand what it all meant. "Who is Sally Sly, and what did she do that for?" he finally ventured.

"For goodness sake, Peter Rabbit, do you mean to tell me you don't know who Sally Sly is?" Then without waiting for Peter to reply, Jenny rattled on. "She's a member of the Blackbird family and she's the laziest, most good-for-nothing, sneakiest, most unfeeling and most selfish wretch I know of!" Jenny paused long enough to get her breath. "She laid that egg in Chebec's nest because she is too lazy to build a nest of her own and too selfish to take care of her own children."[5]

Jenny Wren's indignation has its counterpart in the attitude of society not only toward maternal employment, but also toward private family day care arrangements which are stereotyped in such disparaging terms as "makeshift arrangements," "babysitting," or "neglect." In another paper I have argued that the evidence does not support such charges as generalizations about the population or the fantasy that these private arrangements can be put out of business by licensing or by competition from new and better day care facilities.[6] Private family day care has been providing for close to 20%

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[5] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[6] Arthur C. Emlen, "Realistic Planning for the Day Care Consumer," *Social Work Practice, 1970* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp.127-142.

of the children of working mothers,[7] and it is reasonable to assume that this type of child care will persist.

Without indignation, then, let us examine some patterns of behavior of working mothers and their neighborhood caregivers or sitters, which we have discovered in the Field Study. In looking at family day care as a child-rearing environment, the Field Study has stepped back from questions about the response of the child to day care, important as that is, and has paid attention rather to the life circumstances, attitudes, and behaviors primarily of the mother and the caregiver, for it is these behaviors and conditions that both create and constitute the proximal environment for the child. Then, in the second half of this paper we shall shift our attention to the ecology of the private family day care arrangement, discussing its relationship to its environment, the neighborhood, for in the matchmaker role of neighbors we believe we have found a way of reaching and assisting those who make private family day care arrangements.

## Arrangements Between Friends and Arrangements Between Strangers

One of the most intriguing determinants of family day care behavior is the nature of the relationship between mother and caregiver. Since by definition family day care involves the use of nonrelatives, we are talking about a population of persons who turn beyond kinship resources and who neither benefit from nor are constrained by kinship norms about helping with child care. The norms and role expectations governing behavior between neighbors, between friends, and between strangers become relevant but by no means clear when these relations are mixed. If the mother and caregiver are already friends, how do they combine their friendship with the business aspect of the arrangement, which is after all a more or less contractual agreement to exchange money for service? Or if they are strangers with only the briefest of acquaintance when they contract the child care arrangement, do they remain businesslike and distant or do they become friends who increasingly share a social life over and beyond the instrumental requirements for maintaining the arrangement? Indeed, how do they maintain the relationship?

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[7] Seth Low and Pearl G. Spindler, Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the United States, Children's Bureau Publication No. 461-1968 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p.71.

Let me now present some data based on 104 mother-sitter pairs of whom 39 defined themselves as "friends" when the arrangement began, and 65 of whom were "strangers" whose contact with one another was a response to a classified newspaper ad or was engineered by a friend or some other third party acting in a matchmaking capacity. All of the analyses I am going to present were done separately for these two groups -- friends and strangers -- because the differences between arrangements that began between friends and arrangements that began between strangers proved to be of overriding significance. The dynamics of mother-sitter relations are dramatically different for the two groups whose origins were different.

But what is friendship? In the first place, our 39 friends were friends because they both said they knew each other already. The degree of friendship or "closeness" between the two families was measured by the scales shown in Table 1. Naturally, those who began as friends scored higher on this scale than did the strangers. But the average duration of the arrangement at time of interview when the data were collected was six months, giving ample time for old friendships to founder or new ones to develop, and this is exactly what happened.

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Table 1 here

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Now for strangers, a developing friendship or closeness between the

Table 1

SITTER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

| | Mean | Standard deviation | Factor Loadings |
|---|---|---|---|
| The mother is one of my closest friends. | -0.31 | 1.94 | .82 |
| Our families often get together. | -1.26 | 1.85 | .82 |
| I only see the mother when she leaves or picks up her child. | -0.08 | 2.05 | -.75 |
| The mother and I enjoy getting together. | +0.39 | 1.94 | .74 |
| The mother and I sit and talk to each other for hours. | -0.58 | 2.04 | .74 |
| Our families are so close it's as if we were relatives. | -1.58 | 1.65 | .70 |
| I often visit with this child or have him visit me even when I am not babysitting him. | -0.15 | 2.02 | .66 |
| One reason I babysit for this mother is that our children are friends. | -0.57 | 2.03 | .54 |

Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha

| | Sitters | Mothers |
|---|---|---|
| Friends | .94 | .85 |
| Strangers | .89 | .87 |
| Total | .89 | .89 |

Mean and Standard Deviation

| | Sitters | | Mothers | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $\bar{X}$ | S.D. | $\bar{X}$ | S.D. |
| Friends | 3.7 | 11.39 | 4.3 | 8.93 |
| Strangers | -8.1 | 9.19 | -6.4 | 8.68 |
| Total | -3.6 | 11.55 | -2.4 | 10.15 |

families was associated with various validity measures and with an enduring arrangement, but with little else. For strangers the degree of friendship was almost completely independent of the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction experienced in the arrangement. See Table 2. Not so for arrangements between friends, in which inter-family closeness was associated with a variety of measures of sitter's satisfaction. See Table 3. The same pattern was found for mothers and sitters alike.

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Tables 2 and 3 here

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For the most part the two groups of caregivers did not differ significantly in the amount of satisfaction or dissatisfaction they reported on a variety of scales. It was only in the patterns that the story is told. Two variables were found to be at the center of slightly overlapping clusters of correlations. They are the emotional drain and role strain. The scales used to measure them are shown in Tables 4 and 5.

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Tables 4 and 5 here

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For each of the two groups separately, friends and strangers, a multiple regression shows how much of the variance of role strain or of emotional drain was accounted for, which predictors entered first, and which additional variables contribute significantly to the prediction. In the pie chart, a complete circle would represent 100% of the variance.

Looking first at the caregivers who sat for friends, I interpret the results shown in Figures 1 and 2 as follows. For friends the sources of strain and drain appear to have two elements that distinguish their arrange-

Table 2

Care Givers for Strangers N = 65

| SITTER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT | |
|---|---|
| Sources of Satisfaction | |
| Mother interviewer's rating: Mo's satisfaction with the si-ch relationship. | -.33 |
| Mother's job satisfaction and job market advantage. | -.32 |
| Validity Measures | |
| How sitter feels she gets along with the mother. | .53 |
| Sitter's report of the length of time she has known the mother. | .49 |
| Duration of this arrangement at time of interview. | .47 |
| Mother's view of inter-family closeness in this arrangement. | .45 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles an "extended family" arrangement. | .43 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles an "alliance" arrangement. | .42 |
| Total duration of this arrangement. | .39 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles a "commercial" arrangement. | -.32 |

### Table 3

Care Givers for Friends N = 39

### SITTER'S VIEW OF INTER-FAMILY CLOSENESS IN THIS ARRANGEMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| **Sources of Satisfaction** | |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Si's satisfaction with the si-mo relationship. | .69 |
| Sitter's satisfaction with this mother's concern for her child. | .61 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Si's satisfaction with the mo-ch relationship. | .59 |
| Sitter's dissatisfaction with this mother's long hours and lack of [illegible]nfulness. | -.38 |
| Sitter's disadvantage in the babysitting market. | .37 |
| Sitter's own rating of her satisfaction with this arrangement. | .36 |
| Mother interviewer's rating: Mo's satisfaction with the mo-ch relationship. | .32 |
| Sitter's approval of this mother's discipline. | .32 |
| Sitter's strain from competing requirements of family and sitter roles. | -.32 |
| **Validity Measures** | |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles a "commercial" arrangement. | -.72 |
| Mother's view of inter-family closeness in this arrangement. | .65 |
| How sitter feels she gets along with the mother. | .65 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles an "extended family" arrangement. | .61 |
| Sitter's lack of continuity in day care giver role. | .36 |
| Sitter interviewer's rating: Resembles an "alliance" arrangement. | -.34 |
| Mother interviewer's rating: Resembles a "commercial" arrangement. | -.34 |

Table 4

SITTER'S FEELING THAT CARING FOR THIS MOTHER'S CHILD IS AN EMOTIONAL DRAIN

| | Mean | Standard deviation | Factor Loadings | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The children are too much for me. | -2.26 | 0.85 | | .78 |
| I have trouble with her children because they are so spoiled. | -1.90 | 1.41 | .77 | |
| I like the way her children behave. | +1.65 | 1.06 | -.58 | |
| Mothers are always pleased with the way I have things fixed up to take care of children. | +1.55 | 0.84 | -.58 | |
| Her child gets on my nerves more often than I'd like. | -1.80 | 1.32 | .57 | |
| I get tired of the mother talking about her trouble with the child at home. | -2.03 | 0.95 | | .54 |
| Her child is a real pleasure to be around. | +1.77 | 1.17 | -.53 | |
| Taking care of her child is more of a drain than I expected. | -1.85 | 1.29 | .47 | |
| I take children whether they are sick or not. | +0.56 | 1.75 | -.40 | |
| Some days I really feel ready to give the children up. | -0.90 | 1.78 | | .33 |
| Her children are neat and clean. | +1.85 | 1.40 | | -.30 |

Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha

| | Sitters |
|---|---|
| Friends | .78 |
| Strangers | .75 |
| Total | .76 |

Mean and Standard Deviation

| | Sitters | |
|---|---|---|
| | $\bar{X}$ | S.D. |
| Friends | -16.5 | 8.61 |
| Strangers | -19.0 | 6.98 |
| Total | -18.1 | 7.69 |

Table 5

SITTER'S STRAIN FROM COMPETING REQUIREMENTS OF FAMILY AND SITTER ROLES

| | Mean | Standard deviation | Factor Loadings |
|---|---|---|---|
| I just can't manage to keep the house the way I want to with children around all the time. | -0.48 | 1.87 | -.71 |
| I think a day care giver is usually not paid enough. | +0.10 | 1.77 | -.62 |
| I find that often the mother expects the sitter to do too much | -0.66 | 1.61 | -.58 |
| I'm not satisfied with the amount of money I can make babysitting. | -1.23 | 1.59 | -.57 |
| I find that my babysitting is hard on my own family. | -0.50 | 1.60 | -.54 |
| Mothers impose on sitters. | -0.46 | 1.66 | -.51 |
| My husband gets upset sometimes because he feels that I do more for mothers and children than I need to. | -0.73 | 1.81 | -.35 |
| Mothers are usually considerate of sitters. | +1.58 | 1.02 | .33 |

Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha

| | Sitters |
|---|---|
| Friends | .81 |
| Strangers | .83 |
| Total | .82 |

Mean and Standard Deviation

| | Sitters | |
|---|---|---|
| | $\bar{X}$ | S.D. |
| Friends | -4.7 | 8.35 |
| Strangers | -6.2 | 8.88 |
| Total | -5.6 | 8.68 |

ments from arrangements made between strangers. One of these elements is the manifest content of dissatisfaction, which differs for strain and for drain. Role strain in sitting for friends involves a general dissatisfaction with the role and more specifically centers around the hours per day and the days per week the child is in care and around the planfulness and demandingness of the mother regarding those hours. It is as if the sitter got herself in for more than she had anticipated. Emotional drain centers around the child's adjustment as an issue. However, both strain and drain involve an element of interpersonal attitude concerning questions of dominance and status differences and the adaptive manner in which differences are reconciled within the relationship. The use of a friend as a regular caregiver may itself introduce discrepancies that are incompatible with the initial degree of equality in the friendship and that become sources of tension as time goes on.

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Figures 1 and 2 here

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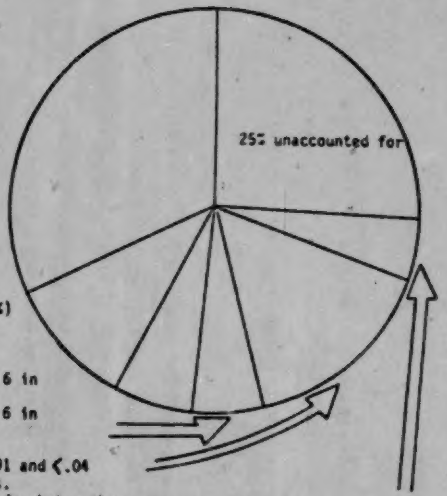
For caregivers who sit for strangers, however, and who start out within the context of a contractual, instrumental, and less friendship-based relationship, the source of strain and drain is not the manner of relating but the possibility of exploitation, unfair exchange, or disadvantage in what must be a reciprocal balance of satisfactions. For this group, role strain is a function of feeling powerless or disadvantaged in the babysitting role. An economic element in this sense of disadvantage is also present. Emotional drain follows consistently with role strain and involves dissatisfaction with the mother's long hours and lack of planfulness, disapproval of the mother's discipline, and dissatisfaction with the child's adjustment, along with some

SITTER'S ROLE STRAIN

Friends



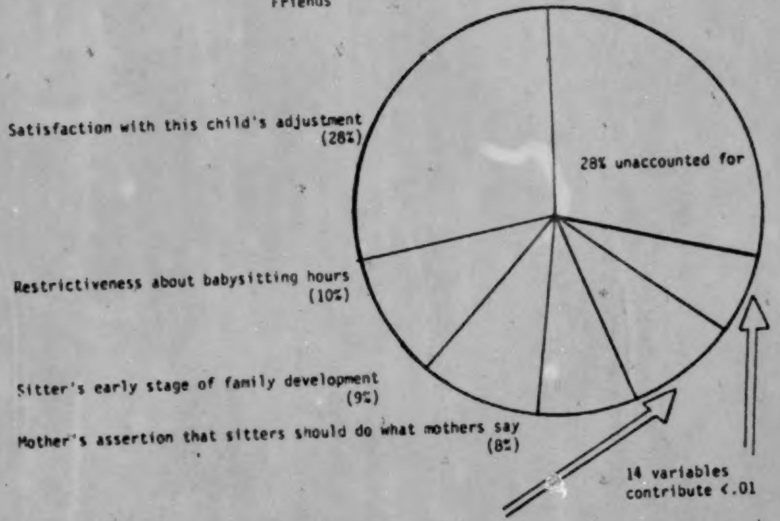
Variables Contributing ≥ .01 and < .04

Restrictiveness about babysitting hours.
Mother's assertion that sitters should do what mothers say.
Sitter role power vs. powerlessness.
Satisfaction with this mother's concern for her child.
Total number of children under 6 at sitter's.
Mother's family intactness and higher family income.
Satisfaction with this child's adjustment.
Expressive needs met by caring for children.
Sitter's own rating of her satisfaction with this arrangement.

Figure 1

SITTER'S EMOTIONAL DRAIN

Friends



Variables Contributing ≥ .01 and <.04

Sitter's own rating of her satisfaction with this arrangement.
Mother's SES.
How well mother says child gets along with sitter.
Satisfaction with this mother's concern for her child.
Strain from competing requirements of family and sitter roles.

Figure 2

questioning of the mother's concern for her child as a source of dissatisfaction. Thus one sees for the caregivers who sit for strangers a feeling that caring for this child is an emotional drain expressed as a function of a set of possible dissatisfactions. Though the feeling of drain may reflect the pressures of child care, notice that the concerns are all around the child and child care.

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Figures 3 and 4 here

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I must at this point correct a misleading impression which may have been given in describing these analyses of the correlates of strain and drain. The degree of satisfaction reported by these sitters has been generally quite high. After all, we have been reporting the responses of those who succeeded in making relatively successful family day care arrangements. Thus what were identified are the potential sources of dissatisfaction which these caregivers endeavored successfully to avoid. We have identified some of the conditions under which mothers and caregivers make arrangements with which they will be satisfied.

I should now like to try to draw together into one conclusion the results of these two kinds of analyses--the comparison of the patterns of correlations, and the comparison of the four multiple regressions. It would appear that in arrangements that begin between women who have known each other before the arrangement begins, friendship is the bond or social glue that holds the arrangement together. The degree of continuing friendship is associated with the degree of satisfaction with the arrangement. On the other hand dissatisfaction threatens the relationship as well as the arrangement. Furthermore, the strains and drains of a day care arrangement between friends seem to involve problems of status, dominance, and interpersonal issues. It may well be

SITTER'S ROLE STRAIN

Strangers

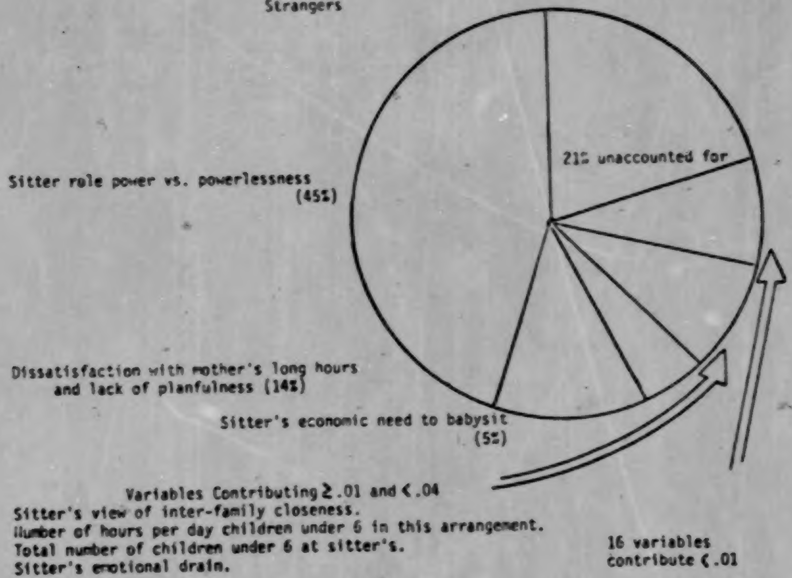

Figure 3

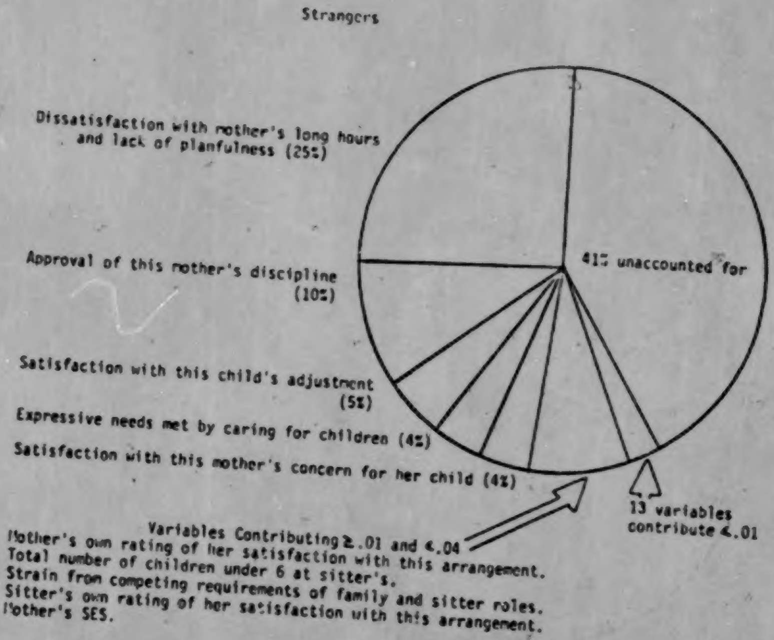
Strangers
41% unaccounted for
Dissatisfaction with mother's long hours and lack of planfulness (25%)
Approval of this mother's discipline (10%)
Satisfaction with this child's adjustment (5%)
Expressive needs met by caring for children (4%)
Satisfaction with this mother's concern for her child (4%)
13 variables contribute ≤.01
Variables Contributing ≥.01 and ≤.04
Mother's own rating of her satisfaction with this arrangement.
Total number of children under 6 at sitter's.
Strain from competing requirements of family and sitter roles.
Sitter's own rating of her satisfaction with this arrangement.
Mother's SES.

Figure 4

that when a previously existing relationship is the bond for a day care arrangement, dissatisfaction will be tolerated that would disrupt an arrangement between strangers. But our data bring to mind the old maxim about not doing business with friends. Respondents spoke of how hard it is to redefine the nature of a friendship relationship in a more contractual direction. Friends report difficulty in being able to communicate freely about problems that arise in the day care arrangement, especially if it does involve redefining the nature of the relationship. There is risk of losing a friend.

By contrast, those who start out with an initially contractual relationship between strangers tend to develop a more extensive system of mutual satisfactions which are not associated with the degree of friendship. Apparently for strangers it is the balanced exchange of satisfactions, the reciprocity, that serves as the bond. There is freedom to regulate the degree of closeness or distance, and the norms more clearly encourage discussing the practical, instrumental conditions of the arrangement, not only from the beginning but as problems arise. Within the contractual context of the relationship, friendships do develop, and when they do they provide an extra bonus; the closeness is associated with an enduring arrangement.

The implications of the data were especially interesting to me because they contained some surprises. Initial impressions and hypotheses formulated a few years ago led us to expect that the most satisfactory type of family day care arrangement and one that provided the child with the most favorable environment would be that made between friends in which the closeness between the two families provided the child with a familiar situation, an "extended family"-like setting. Rather than go to an almost unknown and unfamiliar world of discrepant role expectations, he would have one world not two, a world of extensive interaction between the two families and of shared values and understandings. This type of arrangement does exist, but it tends not to be as serviceable unless the friendship is strong and the level of satisfaction high.

On the other hand, since most family day care arrangements probably are not made between friends anyway but between strangers, it is of some comfort to know that this can be a favorable way for an arrangement to start and that reasonably satisfactory arrangements can be developed, in which a degree of friendship can arise, and in which the expressive needs of the child and the expressive needs of the sitter are met in a mutual way.

It should not be assumed that strangers provide a more favorable child-rearing situation than friends. A more apt interpretation is that friends can assume or take for granted what must become the manifest focus of interaction between strangers.

It might easily be assumed that caregivers who sit for strangers might be highly commercial in their orientation and motivation to give care. Three kinds of evidence point to a contrary conclusion, however, at least for the sample under consideration:

(1) A scale measuring sitter's perceived economic need to babysit was only moderately correlated with low family income. This is not surprising since if a woman's economic need to work were great she would not be performing the caregiving role which, for our sample, contributed less than $1,000 a year to family income.

(2) An analysis of the motivational correlates of the sitter's amount of day care business found the contributions of the expressive need to sit stronger and more pervasive than the economic need to sit. "Amount of day care business" was an index based on the number of children cared for and the income derived from it.

(3) The expressive need to babysit entered into the multiple regression of emotional drain for strangers negatively perhaps as an antidote to

emotional drain for those caregivers. In sum, at least for this sample, the caregivers did not appear as a mercenary lot, but rather as women who found the role gratifying. They seemed to enjoy taking care of children and were not simply doing it for money or as a favor for a friend.

## The Neighborhood Holds the Key to Facilitating How Private Family Day Care Arrangements are Made

We have just taken a look at the lucky ones. They had child care arrangements with a median duration of over one year. Other Field Study samples had median durations of one, two, or three months. Many of the women described above had had a series of previous day care arrangements. Private family day care is beset by problems, and instability is one of them.

The Field Study tries to understand and deal with this problem of discontinuity for the child in private family day care. Our assumption is that arrangements can be stabilized by improving the conditions under which they are made. A point of entry was found by putting together four elements:

(1) The babysitting crises of working mothers who need help in finding child care;

(2) The potential resources of women motivated to give care;

(3) The matchmaking activities of certain neighbors; and

(4) Expert consultation for the matchmakers.

These are the elements of a new kind of day care service which we have been calling the Day Care Neighbor Service. The results of a two-year demonstration of the service, which have just been reported,[8] show that private family day care does not take place in a vacuum but within a neighborhood matchmaking system which can be strengthened.

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[8] The results are described and evaluated in Arthur C. Emlen and Eunice L. Watson, Matchmaking in Neighborhood Day Care: A Descriptive Study of the Day Care Neighbor Service. Originally developed on a pilot basis by the Day Care Exchange Project (Child Welfare Demonstration Grant #D-135), the service was further developed by the Field Study of the Neighborhood Family Day Care System (Child Welfare Research Grant #R-287). Both of these grants have been from the U. S. Children's Bureau. The Director of the Day Care Neighbor Service is Alice H. Collins.

The Day Care Neighbor Service is a different kind of day care service. It does not directly provide day care, it does not supervise day care, and it does not even require the day care consumer to make contact with an agency. The service makes it possible to intervene at the neighborhood level where families privately and without benefit of a social agency make day care arrangements with neighborhood "sitters" or caregivers. The approach is indirect and makes use of informal relationships to provide a service that is decentralized to the level of the neighborhood. The purpose of the service is to strengthen existing child care arrangements, recruit new day care givers, and facilitate the information and referral processes by which new arrangements are made.

The method of intervention[9] involves a creative use of consultation by social workers who avoid working directly with mothers or sitters; instead they provide consultation to "day care neighbors" who, in turn, help the potential users and givers of care to find each other and to make mutually satisfactory arrangements.

These neighborhood women are discovered in the act not only of giving child care themselves, but also of being helpful to their neighbors in meeting daily babysitting crises. In any neighborhood one is apt to find such home-centered women who know the other caregivers in their localities and who are actively interested in the lives of others. Responding at moments of need, they serve as a maximally available third party to help neighbors with the process of making child care arrangements.

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[9] The method and technique of intervention have been described in Alice H. Collins, Eunice L. Watson, The Day Care Neighbor Service: A Handbook for the Organization and Operation of a New Approach to Family Day Care. (Portland: Tri-County Community Council, 1969).
See also Alice H. Collins, "Some Efforts to Improve Private Family Day Care," Children, 13 (July-August 1966), 135-140.
Alice H. Collins, Arthur C. Emlen, Eunice L. Watson, "The Day Care Neighbor Service: An Interventive Experiment," Community Mental Health Journal, 5 (June, 1969), 219-224.

Thus the discovery that there exists a natural neighboring role in day care matters was capitalized on as the basis for building a service. More than a dozen day care neighbors were discovered and provided with skilled social work consultation in their homes and by telephone. They were paid a token fee of $25 a month. With this kind of support these day care neighbors were encouraged to continue, to improve, and to increase their neighboring activities. The social work consultants confined their contacts to the day care neighbors, and most of the day care neighbors continued to perform their roles for the duration of the demonstration, reaching a large number of private family day care arrangements.

Briefly, what were the results?

(1) Thirteen out of fifteen day care neighbors continued performing in their roles from the time they were recruited until termination of the demonstration.

(2) The service was replicated under partially new conditions showing that the success was not a fluke the first time.

(3) Despite variations in the number of requests that came to the various day care neighbors, all of them performed to some extent each of the four functions of the service: information and referral, recruitment, matchmaking, maintenance and education.

(4) Using the obtained volume figures as the best estimate of what the service can do and anticipating a full complement of 15 day care neighbors, one could expect in one year to receive 482 requests for day care from 346 care users for 554 children. These figures underestimate the total number of children reached by the service. If one counts also the caregivers' own children, a conservative estimate would place at more than 882 the number of children's lives that the Day Care Neighbor Service would have

the capability of reaching indirectly within the course of a year. See Table 6.

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Table 6 here

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Of these user requests approximately 78% would result in a completed day care arrangement, and 49% would result in arrangements matched by a day care neighbor. Although significant variation was found in the matchmaking styles and success ratios of the day care neighbors, the percentage of requests resulting in an arrangement one way or another remained stable with little variation. We concluded that the service facilitated the way in which arrangements are made but did not increase their numbers.

(5) The service succeeded in reaching the target population. Regarding the applicability of the service, we found that it:

a. Reaches the users of full-time, part-time and irregular day care arrangements made both for maternal employment and for other special reasons.

b. Reaches both home care and family day care, but especially the latter.

c. Reaches arrangements made for infants, preschoolers and school age children, but especially for the child under six.

d. Reaches women who can be recruited to provide day care in their own homes.

e. Reaches day care arrangements early in the arrangement process and provides some limited knowledge of them over the continuing period of time.

f. Reaches the children who experience repeated discontinuity of child care.

## Table 6

### The Estimated Number of Persons Who Can Be Reached by the Day Care Neighbor Service

| | Totals for the 24 month demonstration | Monthly Average per DCN | Yearly Average per DCN | Yearly Estimate for unit of 15 DCNs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of user requests | 589 | 2.68 | 32 | 482 |
| Number of care users | 422 | 1.92 | 23 | 346 |
| Number of children (users) | 677 | 3.08 | 37 | 554 |
| Number of caregiver requests | 272 | 1.24 | 15 | 223 |
| Number of caregivers | 200 | .91 | 11 | 164 |
| Number of caregivers' own children under 12 (estimated from panel study data) | 400 | 1.82 | 22 | 328 |
| Number of children reached | 1077 | 4.90 | 59 | 882 |

g. Reaches some instances of abuse, neglect, and inadequate supervision that are visible within the neighborhood.

The service is not a universal method, however, for reaching those who make day care arrangements. The service has the following limitations with respect to its applicability:

a. Day care neighboring tends to be territorially specialized, taking on the characteristics of the neighborhood, whether an apartment building, a trailer court, or an established residential area, and extending mainly to the network of associations that the neighbor has. Thus the reach of a Day Care Neighbor Service is limited to whatever socioeconomic and ethnic groups are a part of the system of contacts of the neighbors within the service. Furthermore, within a given geographic area there may be inadequate coverage, that is, not enough day care neighbors.

b. Not all day care users make their day care arrangements through an intermediary, whether a day care neighbor, friend, or relative. Some turn directly to a friend and ask her to take the child, while others respond to newspaper ads. In two independent samples studied in the Field Study, approximately one-third of the day care arrangements involved the use of some kind of a third party in facilitating the making of the arrangement. Day care neighbors are third-party intermediaries of an informal variety. Presumably many day care consumers would prefer other approaches to making arrangements.

c. The Day Care Neighbor Service is applicable only to those who contract privately for their day care arrangements. This involves an exchange of money for services and independent selection of the child care arrangement by the day care consumer. Again, many consumers prefer formal referral channels and the professionally developed and educationally enriched day care programs. Furthermore, many need the services afforded by professional agencies.

The effectiveness of the Day Care Neighbor Service was not evaluated. It would be difficult to assess, of course, because the intervention adds such a small increment of change into the natural situation it is designed to affect. Some social programs create powerful new environments designed to have a massive impact upon a small number of persons, and the results are apt to be dramatic. By contrast as an instrument of change the Day Care Neighbor Service is designed to achieve limited results with a large number of neighborhood contacts with a small unit cost. It operates on the principle of making maximum use of the least effort necessary to strengthen ongoing social processes without disturbing the neighborhood status of the behavior involved. Though it reaches systems of behavior that have been relatively inaccessible to organized day care programs, the noticeable effect may be small when the objective is, for example, to help families to make better day care decisions than they otherwise might, or to provide a child with a more favorable and stable situation than he otherwise might have.

It is always tempting to believe that results are attributable to the power of the intervention, but the results of the Day Care Neighbor Service may also be seen as attributable to the effective use of the service by the givers and users of day care. And the outcome of the day care arrangement is probably even more importantly the result of interactions between caregiver and care user. This point is illustrated in Figure 5. The outcome data illustrated in the figure represent the effects of:

(1) the input from the service (that is the interventions of the day care neighbors and their consultants),
(2) the contribution of additional referral sources in the community,
(3) the use of the service,
(4) the role behaviors of caregivers and care users vis-a-vis each other, as determined by
(5) their own life circumstances, attitudes and behavior patterns.

Figure 5 here

It is important to recognize that the results reported represent a product of the entire system of behaviors shown in Figure 5. The evaluation only purported to show that the Day Care Neighbor Service "works" as a part of that system. Indeed, it is the operation of the system that was assessed in evaluating the feasibility of the program model.

To return to the original analogy, whether or not the cowbird and the song sparrow succeed in fledging the cowbird's young may depend on how well Peter Rabbit can get Jenny Wren to help out in the Old Orchard instead of just scolding.

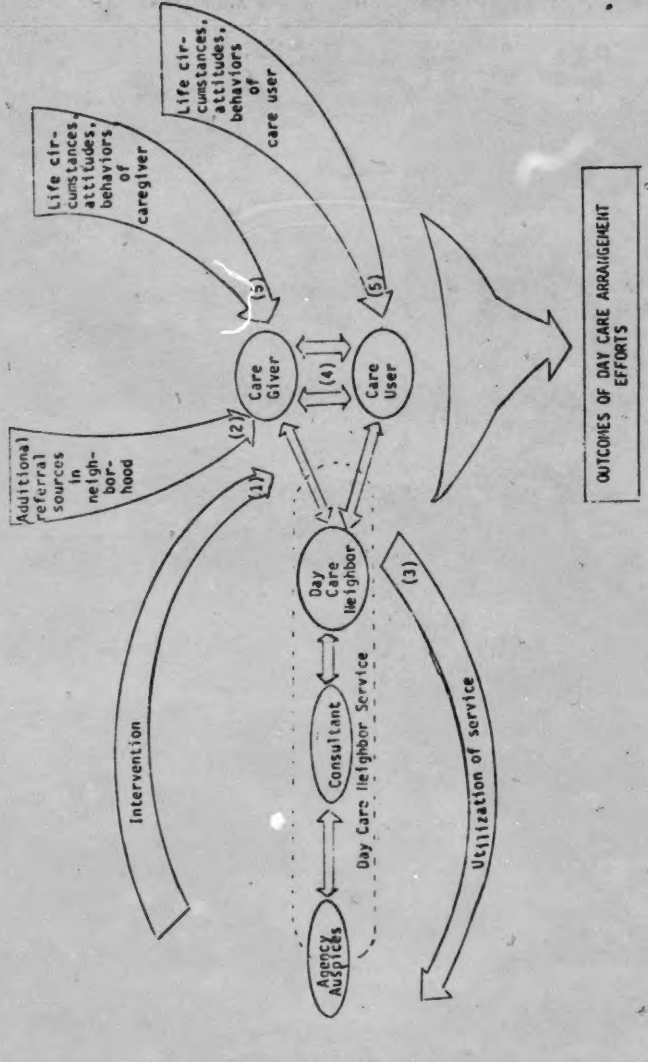
Additional referral sources in neighborhood
Life circumstances, attitudes, behaviors of caregiver
Life circumstances, attitudes, behaviors of care user
(1)
(2)
(5)
(5)
Care Giver
(4)
Care User
Intervention
Day Care Neighbor
Consultant
Agency Auspices
Day Care Neighbor Service
(3)
Utilization of service
OUTCOMES OF DAY CARE ARRANGEMENT EFFORTS

Figure 5. The System of Behaviors that Lead to Arrangement Outcomes

FIELD STUDY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY DAY CARE SYSTEM
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PORTLAND, OREGON 97210
(503) 228-7383

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# ANNOTATED LIST OF PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Articles, Conference Papers, and Monograph
Progress Reports and Technical Appendices

Arthur C. Emlen, Ph.D.
Project Director
July 1, 1971

## CHRONOLOGICAL ANNOTATED LIST OF PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

### Part One: Articles, Conference Papers, and Monographs

Collins, Alice H. Day Care Exchange Project Report. Portland: Community Council, December 1966. 111 pp.

Final report of demonstration-research project, Children's Bureau Research Grant D-135. It describes the preliminary steps toward a neighborhood-based family day care program originally planned as a membership exchange which would identify and upgrade family day caregivers and certify them to working mothers seeking high grade family day care. It was during this project that the idea of the Day Care Neighbor Service was conceived, and the report discusses how the focus changed toward vesting the exchange function with central neighborhood figures.

Collins, Alice H. "Some Efforts to Improve Private Family Day Care." Children, 13 (July-August 1966), 135-140.

Describes the reasons for the change of focus from a central exchange service to the use of the existing family day care system supported by social work consultation.

Collins, Alice H., Arthur C. Emlen, Eunice L. Watson. "The Day Care Neighbor Service: An Interventive Experiment." Community Mental Health Journal, 5(3) 1969, 219-224. (First presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., March 1967.)

Abstract: In the United States, more than one million children of working mothers are cared for in the homes of nonrelatives. An informal social system exists through which mothers and day care givers find each other, make, maintain, and dissolve their private arrangements, almost entirely without the intervention of any social agency. This paper describes the development of a new kind of day care service using consultation methods for preventive intervention at the neighborhood level. This "Day Care Neighbor Service" provides consultation to a network of women who perform an informal neighboring role in relation to family day care arrangements. The primary, secondary, and tertiary preventive potentials of this approach are discussed.

Emlen, Arthur C. Project Summary in Dale G. Lake, et al., "Applied Behavioral Science: Current Projects," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 5 (1969), 380-2.

A brief summary of the aims and rationale of the Field Study.

Collins, Alice H. and Eunice L. Watson. "Exploring the Neighborhood Family Day Care System." Social Casework (November 1969), pp. 527-33.

With an emphasis on implications for practice, this paper suggests the major significance that day care arrangements have for children and their families. The paper points out ideas that should be given due consideration at the diagnostic and treatment level, and discusses the potential for extending the reach of professional social workers through collaboration with day care givers.

Collins, Alice H., Eunice L. Watson. The Day Care Neighbor Service: A Handbook for the Organization and Operation of a New Approach to Family Day Care. Portland: Tri-County Community Council, 1969. 57 pp.

This Handbook is the "how to" and "why" publication that describes the steps to be taken toward the establishment and maintenance of a Day Care Neighbor Service. Based on the experience with the development and demonstration of such a service, the Handbook discusses problems likely to be encountered and gains likely to accrue.

Collins, Alice H. "Consultation Method as the Base for a Family Day Care Service." A paper presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Chicago, Ill., June 4, 1970. 8 pp.

The Day Care Neighbor Service was based on mental health consultation according to the model described by Gerald Caplan. The manner in which this model was modified and applied is briefly discussed.

Emlen, Arthur C. "Realistic Planning for the Day Care Consumer." Social Work Practice, 1970. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, pp. 127-42. (First presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Chicago, Ill., June 4, 1970.) Reprinted in Readings in Day Care, edited by Bettye Caldwell. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971.

Citing findings from the Field Study and other research, this paper presents a point of view about day care behavior. Abstract: This paper questions public attitudes of disparagement toward child care that is privately arranged in neighborhood homes, and cites research to show that the widespread non-use of organized facilities is based on realistic alternative patterns of day care behavior. Some determinants of day care use are discussed, and an understanding of utilization behavior is seen as the key to developing quality day care of different kinds.

Emlen, Arthur C. "Principles of Program Planning" and "Child Development in Day Care Programs." Group Infant Care Programs: A Survey by Marion Howard. The Research Utilization and Information Sharing Project, Cyesis Programs Consortium, The George Washington University, February 1971, pp. 95-108. This material was written at the Office of Child Development Day Care/Child Development Workshop at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia, July 22-31, 1970.

The first piece suggests some principles designed to make day care programs effective and favorable for children and their families. The second piece presents a framework for identifying the target populations in need of day care programs of different kinds. Characteristics of six types of day care are summarized.

Emlen, Arthur C. and Eunice L. Watson. Matchmaking in Neighborhood Day Care: A Descriptive Study of the Day Care Neighbor Service. Portland: Tri-County Community Council, 1970. 125 pp.

Matchmaking is a detailed report of the results obtained from a two-year demonstration of the service. The results show that private family day care does not take place in a vacuum but within a viable neighborhood matchmaking system which can be strengthened. The report discusses the need for the service and its objectives. The activities of the day care neighbors are described and monthly volume figures are analyzed, showing how well the service succeeded in reaching its target population. A final chapter considers the validity assumptions underlying the service and suggests auspices to which it could be attached.

Emlen, Arthur C. "Neighborhood Family Day Care as a Child-Rearing Environment." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, Boston, Mass., November 19, 1970. (To be published in Young Children.)

This paper is about the behavior of cowbirds, song sparrows, working mothers, and sitters who give family day care. In two parts, the paper presents a summary of the results reported in Matchmaking and a detailed report on the dynamics of mother-sitter interaction in the family day care arrangement, contrasting arrangements between friends and arrangements between strangers.

Collins, Alice H. "The Home-Centered Woman as a Potential Protective Service Resource." A paper presented at the National Conference on Social Welfare, Authors Forum, Dallas, Texas, May 17, 1971. 11 pp.

This paper discusses some of the potentials of the Day Care Neighbor Service for protective services. As a consequence of a small demonstration in a neighborhood with a high incidence of neglect and abuse complaints, it was demonstrated that Day Care Neighbors could be found and that they played a significant part in intervening directly in a protective capacity. Contact with the day care neighbors afforded staff a unique opportunity to gain an understanding of social conditions affecting children in settings otherwise inaccessible to study.

Emlen, Arthur C., M. Callahan, E. Ross, The Campus Baby Inn: A Survey of Student Opinion on University Day Care. Portland: School of Social Work, Portland State University, 1971. 55pp.

Not an integral part of the Field Study, conducted at Portland State University, this study nevertheless deals with the problem of predicting use of day care facilities, as well as with attitudes toward university day care and its funding.

Emlen, Arthur C. and Betty A. Donoghue. Child Care by Kith: A Study of the Family Day Care Relationships of Working Mothers and Neighborhood Caregivers.

Based on interviews with both the mother and sitter, this descriptive analysis of 104 family day care arrangements presents a picture of an emerging type of social relationship. The monograph presents the theoretical framework of the Field Study which involves looking at the arrangement as a patterned type of social relationship, as a social system the stability of which is an issue, and as a social exchange examined via the perception of it by mothers and sitters.

A chapter on method describes the kinds of measures and multivariate analyses that were used to answer the central question "what are the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the family day care arrangements for mothers and sitters?" The sampling and limitations of the study that should be kept in mind are also discussed.

A description of the sample describes basic demographic characteristics of the working mothers and of the caregivers. Of special interest are the data on income; stability of residence, job, and role; and the family sizes of mothers who make this type of arrangement.

In describing the basic features of the arrangement itself, most important for subsequent analyses of the report is how the arrangement began (whether as "friend" and "acquaintances" or as "strangers")--a difference in starting point that has divergent consequences for the social relationship developed between mother and sitter. This chapter also establishes family day care as a neighborhood phenomenon and as a type of care preferred by its users.

Based on data about the stages of family development of the mother and sitter, the number of children cared for, the respondents' earnings and family income and key attitudes, it is found that economic motives take a back seat to child-care gratification and experience as explanations for the number of children sitters are found to take care of. Family day care emerges as an enterprise that is essentially small and non-commercial.

Partitioning the sample into two groups, "friends" and "strangers," (when the arrangement began) is validated by a scale of "inter-family closeness," and light is thrown on how business and friendship mix in day care relationships for the two groups. For friends satisfactions with the arrangement are correlated with the degree of closeness, while for strangers satisfactions with the arrangement are independent of closeness. For strangers a high degree of family closeness is associated with an enduring arrangement.

Specific sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the day care arrangement are measured independently for mothers and sitters and are identified by means of scales constructed from factor analytic procedures. The variety of specific sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are interesting in their own right and a generally high level of satisfaction is reported for most sources.

The investigation of mother and sitter satisfaction is carried further by means of two general kinds of analyses. The mothers' and sitters' global self-reporting of satisfaction with the arrangement is used as a criterion of overall satisfaction, and the correlates of that self-rating regarded as representing the most salient sources of satisfaction. This was done first by means of simple correlations between the scale scores and the ratings, and then by means of step-wise multiple regressions on the rating. Of practical and theoretical significance is the finding that for mothers, satisfaction with the sitter's concern for the child stands out as the most salient source of satisfaction.

An examination of the correlation matrix and the variables for the friends and strangers group revealed that most of the sitter satisfactions and dissatisfactions clustered around two focal variables--role strain and emotional drain. While both groups largely managed to avoid the strains and drains of the child care arrangement, two step-wise multiple regressions confirmed the evidence of the correlation matrices that the sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction differed for the two groups. We conclude that in arrangements begun between women who have known each other before the arrangement begins, friendship is the bond or social glue that holds the arrangement together. Continuing friendship is associated with satisfaction with the arrangement, and on the other hand, dissatisfaction threatens the relationship as well as the arrangement. Furthermore the strains and drains of the day care arrangement between friends seem to involve problems of status, dominance and inter-personal issues. It may well be that when a previously existing relationship is the bond for a day care relationship, dissatisfaction will be tolerated that would disrupt an arrangement between strangers, but our data bring to mind the old maxim about not doing business with friends. Respondents spoke about how hard it is to redefine the nature of a friendship relationship in a more contractual direction. Friends report difficulty in being able to communicate freely about problems that arise in a day care arrangement especially if it does involve redefining the nature of the relationship. There is risk of losing a friend.

By contrast those who start out with an initially contractual relationship between strangers tend to develop a more extensive system of mutual satisfactions which are not associated with the degree of friendship. Apparently for strangers it is the balanced exchange of satisfactions, the reciprocity, that serves as the bond. There is freedom to regulate the degree of closeness or distance, and the norm more clearly encourages discussing the practical instrumental conditions of the agreement, not only from the beginning but as problems arise. Within the initial contractual context of the arrangement, friendships or at least friendly relations develop and when they do they provide an extra bonus; the closeness is associated with an enduring arrangement.

# ATTACHMENT, EXPLORATION, AND SEPARATION: ILLUSTRATED BY THE BEHAVIOR OF ONE-YEAR-OLDS IN A STRANGE SITUATION

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*The concepts of attachment and attachment behavior are considered from an ethological-evolutionary viewpoint. Attachment behavior and exploration are viewed in balance, and the biological functions of each are discussed. As an illustration of these concepts, a study is reported of 56 white, middle-class infants, 49–51 weeks of age, in a strange situation. The presence of the mother was found to encourage exploratory behavior, her absence to depress exploration and to heighten attachment behaviors. In separation episodes such behaviors as crying and search increased. In reunion episodes proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining behaviors were heightened. In a substantial proportion of Ss, contact-resisting behaviors were also heightened in the reunion episodes, usually in conjunction with contact-maintaining behaviors, thus suggesting ambivalence. Some Ss also displayed proximity-avoiding behavior in relation to the mother in the reunion episodes. These findings are discussed in the context of relevant observational, clinical, and experimental studies of human and nonhuman primates, including studies of mother-child separation. In conclusion, it is urged that the concepts of attachment and attachment behavior be kept broad enough to comprehend the spectrum of the findings of this range of studies.*

Within the last decade the term "attachment" has appeared with increasing frequency in both empirical and theoretical segments of the developmental psychological literature (see Cairns 1966; Gewirtz 1961, 1969; Maccoby & Masters, in press; Robson 1967; Schaffer & Emerson 1964;

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Schwarz 1968). The term, as originally introduced by Bowlby (1958, 1969) and as used by Ainsworth (1963, 1964, 1967), implies an ethological and evolutionary viewpoint, and hence has connotations not necessarily shared by those with other theoretical orientations. Infant-mother attachment has been conceived as related to separation anxiety (see Bowlby 1960), fear of the strange and strangers (see Morgan & Ricciuti 1969; Schaffer 1966), and exploration (see Ainsworth 1967; Ainsworth & Wittig 1969). It is believed that the interrelationships between these behaviors throw light upon the biological function of infant-mother attachment; that they do is strongly suggested by field studies of ground-living nonhuman primates. Although comparable reports of human infants in their natural home environment are not yet forthcoming, interaction between attachment behavior, exploration, separation anxiety, and fear of the strange may be observed in a controlled laboratory environment—the strange or unfamiliar situation.

It is the purpose of this paper to highlight some distinctive features of the ethological-evolutionary concept of attachment, by citing reports of the interactions between the infant's attachment behavior and other behaviors mentioned above; to illustrate these interactions by a report of the behavior of 1 year olds in a strange situation; and to note parallels between strange-situation behavior and behavior reported in other relevant observational, clinical, and experimental contexts.

Let us begin with some definitions and key concepts distinctive of the ethological-evolutionary viewpoint, as proposed by Bowlby (1958, 1969) and Ainsworth (1964, 1967, 1969). *An attachment* may be defined as an affectional tie that one person or animal forms between himself and another specific one—a tie that binds them together in space and endures over time. The behavioral hallmark of attachment is seeking to gain and to maintain a certain degree of proximity to the object of attachment, which ranges from close physical contact under some circumstances to interaction or communication across some distance under other circumstances. *Attachment behaviors* are behaviors which promote proximity or contact. In the human infant these include active proximity- and contact-seeking behaviors such as approaching, following, and clinging, and signaling behaviors such as smiling, crying, and calling.

The very young infant displays attachment (proximity-promoting)

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behaviors such as crying, sucking, rooting, and smiling, despite the fact that he is insufficiently discriminating to direct them differentially to a specific person. These initial behaviors indicate a genetic bias toward becoming attached, since they can be demonstrated to be either activated or terminated most effectively by stimuli which, in the environment of evolutionary adaptedness, are most likely to stem from human sources. When these behaviors, supplemented by other active proximity-seeking behaviors which emerge later—presumably through a process of learning in the course of mother-infant interaction—become organized hierarchically and directed actively and specifically toward the mother, the infant may be described as having become attached to her.

The intensity of attachment behavior may be heightened or diminished by situational conditions, but, once an attachment has been formed, it cannot be viewed as vanishing during periods when attachment behavior is not evident. Therefore, it seems necessary to view attachment as an organization of behavioral systems which has an internal, structural portion that endures throughout periods when none of the component attachment behaviors have been activated.

Viewed in the context of evolutionary theory, infant-mother attachment may be seen to fulfill significant biological functions, that is, functions that promote species survival. The long, helpless infancy of the human species occasions grave risks. For the species to have survived, the infant has required protection during this period of defenselessness. It is inferred, therefore, that the genetic code makes provision for infant behaviors which have the usual (although not necessarily invariable) outcome of bringing infant and mother together.

Exploratory behavior is equally significant from an evolutionary point of view. As Hamburg (1968) has pointed out, a prolonged infancy would miss its adaptive mark if there were not also provisions in the genetic code which lead the infant to be interested in the novel features of his environment—to venture forth, to explore, and to learn. The implication is that the genetic biases in a species which can adapt to a wide range of environmental variations provide for a balance in infant behaviors (and in reciprocal maternal behaviors) between those which lead the infant away from the mother and promote exploration and acquisition of knowledge of the properties of the physical and social environment, and those which draw mother and infant together and promote the protection and nurturance that the mother can provide.

The interaction between exploratory and attachment behaviors has been highlighted in field studies of ground-living nonhuman primates (e.g., Southwick, Beg, & Siddiqi 1965; DeVore 1963; Goodall 1965; Schaller 1965) as well as studies of such species in captive colonies (see Hinde, Rowell, & Spencer-Booth 1964, 1967) and in laboratories (e.g., Harlow 1961; Harlow & Harlow 1965; Mason 1965.) Although at first infant and mother are in almost continuous close contact, soon they are in collusion to make more elastic the bonds that unite them. The infant ventures forth to investigate his environment and to play with other infants, and gradually spends more and more time "off" his mother. His expeditions take him further and further away from her, and she becomes increasingly permissive and retrieves him less promptly and less frequently. Alarm or threat of separation, however, quickly bring mother and infant together again.

Naturalistic studies of the attachment-exploration balance are very time consuming; the interaction between the two sets of behaviors must be observed over a wide range of situations. A short-cut alternative is to utilize a controlled strange or unfamiliar situation in which the child, with and without his mother, is exposed to stressful episodes of different kinds. So powerful is this technique in evoking behavioral changes that it is likely to be used with increasing frequency in studies of mother-infant interaction. The ethological-evolutionary view of the attachment-exploration balance is a useful model to use when planning and when interpreting the findings of strange-situation studies.

Of strange-situation studies already reported in the literature, only two have been guided by an ethological-evolutionary point of view. Harlow (1961) used a strange situation to demonstrate the security function of surrogate cloth mothers for infant rhesus macaques. Ainsworth and Wittig (1969) made a preliminary report of the attachment-exploration balance in human 1 year olds. Other studies—Arsenian (1943), Cox and Campbell (1968), Rheingold (1969)—focused on exploratory behavior and reported that the presence of the mother supports it, but paid scant attention to attachment behavior and its hierarchical manifestations in reunion episodes as well as during separation.

The strange-situation procedure provides more than an opportunity to observe how exploratory behavior is affected by mother-present, mother-absent, or other conditions. It is a laboratory microcosm in which a wide range of behaviors pertinent to attachment and to its balance with exploratory behavior may be elicited. Attachment behaviors may be seen as complicated by "negative" behaviors, such as avoidance and aggression. And yet, since the laboratory situation provides but a very small sample of mother-infant interaction, strange-situation findings are not self-interpreting. Perception of the implications of the behaviors that occur in it is facilitated by reference to the findings of other studies—naturalistic, clinical, and experimental. For this reason the ensuing report of a strange-situation study is presented as a useful *illustration* of the shifting balance between exploratory and attachment behavior implicit in the ethological-evolutionary view of attachment. The discussion which follows the presentation refers to relevant findings of other studies. The propositions offered in conclusion comprehend these other relevant considerations as well as the findings of the illustrative strange-situation study.

## THE STRANGE SITUATION

In the course of a longitudinal, naturalistic investigation of infant-mother attachment during the first year of life, there was little opportunity in the home environment to observe the balance of attachment and exploratory behaviors under conditions of novelty and alarm. Therefore, a laboratory situation was devised as a test situation to which the Ss were introduced when nearly 1 year old. It was desired to observe the extent to which the infant could use his mother as a secure base from which he could explore a strange environment, with fear of the strange kept in abeyance by her presence. It was also intended to observe the extent to which attachment behavior might gain ascendancy over exploratory behavior under conditions of alarm introduced by the entrance of a stranger and under conditions of separation from and reunion with the mother.

### *Method*

*Subjects.*—The 56 Ss were family-reared infants of white, middle-class parents, who were originally contacted through pediatricians in private practice. One subsample of 23 Ss, who had been observed longitudinally from birth onward, were observed in the strange situation when 51 weeks old. The second subsample of 33 Ss, studied in the context of an independent project (Bell in press), were observed when 49 weeks old.

*Procedure.*—The strange situation was comprised of eight episodes which followed in a standard order for all subjects. The situation was designed to be novel enough to elicit exploratory behavior, and yet not so strange that it would evoke fear and heighten attachment behavior at the outset. The approach of the stranger was gradual, so that any fear of her could be attributed to unfamiliarity rather than to abrupt, alarming behavior. The episodes were arranged so that the less disturbing ones came first. Finally, the situation as a whole was intended to be no more disturbing than those an infant was likely to encounter in his ordinary life experience. A summarized account of the procedure has been given elsewhere (Ainsworth & Wittig 1969) but will be reviewed here.

The experimental room was furnished—not bare—but so arranged that there was a 9 × 9-foot square of clear floor space, marked off into 16 squares to facilitate recording of location and locomotion. At one end of the room was a child's chair heaped with and surrounded by toys. Near the other end of the room on one side was a chair for the mother, and on the opposite side, near the door, a chair for the stranger. The baby was put down in the middle of the base of the triangle formed by the three chairs and left free to move where he wished. Both the mother and the female stranger were instructed in advance as to the roles they were to play.

In summary, the eight episodes of the situation are as follows:

*Episode 1* (M, B, O). Mother (M), accompanied by an observer (O), carried the baby (B) into the room, and then O left.

*Episode 2* (M, B). M put B down in the specified place, then sat quietly in her chair, participating only if B sought her attention. Duration 3 minutes.

*Episode 3* (S, M, B). A stranger (S) entered, sat quietly for 1 minute, conversed with M for 1 minute, and then gradually approached B, showing him a toy. At the end of the third minute M left the room unobtrusively.

*Episode 4* (S, B). If B was happily engaged in play, S was nonparticipant. If he was inactive, she tried to interest him in the toys. If he was distressed, she tried to distract him or to comfort him. If he could not be comforted, the episode was curtailed—otherwise it lasted 3 minutes.

*Episode 5* (M, B). M entered, paused in the doorway to give B an opportunity to mobilize a spontaneous response to her. S then left unobtrusively. What M did next was not specified—except that she was told that after B was again settled in play with the toys she was to leave again, after pausing to say "bye-bye." (Duration of episode undetermined.)

*Episode 6* (B alone). The baby was left alone for 3 minutes, unless he was so distressed that the episode had to be curtailed.

*Episode 7* (S, B). S entered and behaved as in episode 4 for 3 minutes, unless distress prompted curtailment. (Ainsworth & Wittig 1969, planned a somewhat different procedure for episode 7, which was attempted for the first 14 Ss but, as it turned out, approximated the simpler procedure reported here, which was used for the remaining Ss.)

*Episode 8* (M, B). M returned, S left, and after the reunion had been observed, the situation was terminated.

The behavior of the Ss was observed from an adjoining room through a one-way vision window. Two observers dictated continuous narrative accounts into a dual channel tape recorder which also picked up the click of a timer every 15 seconds. (This represents the procedure we now consider standard. For the first 14 Ss, however, the dual channel recorder was not available, so one observer dictated, while the other made written notes. For the second subsample of 33 Ss, author Bell was the sole observer.) The protocols were subsequently transcribed and consolidated, then coded. Reliability of observation was checked by separate codings of the dictated reports made by the two authors in four cases observed by both. Product-moment coefficients of 0.99 were found for each of locomotor, manipulatory and visual exploration, and one of 0.98 for crying.

The narrative record yielded two types of measure. A frequency measure was used for three forms of exploratory behavior—locomotor, manipulatory, and visual—and for crying. A score of 1 was given for each 15-second time interval in which the behavior occurred. The maximum was 12 for an episode, since the standard length of an episode was 3 minutes, and longer or shorter episodes were prorated. Frequency measures were obtained for episodes 2 through 7. Product-moment reliability coefficients for two independent coders for eight randomly selected cases were as follows: exploratory locomotion, 0.99; exploratory manipulation, 0.93; visual exploration, 0.98; crying, 0.99.

The second measure was based upon detailed coding of behaviors in which the contingencies of the mother's or stranger's behavior had to be taken into consideration. The codings were then ordered into 7-point scales on the assumption that not only could the same behavior be manifested in different degrees of intensity, but that different behaviors could serve the same end under different intensities of activation. There were five classes of behavior thus scored.

*Proximity- and contact-seeking behaviors* include active, effective behaviors such as approaching and clambering up, active gestures such as reaching or leaning, intention movements such as partial approaches, and vocal signals including "directed" cries.

*Contact-maintaining behaviors* pertain to the situation after the baby has gained contact, either through his own initiative or otherwise. They include: clinging, embracing, clutching, and holding on; resisting release by intensified clinging or, if contact is lost, by turning back and reaching, or clambering back up; and protesting release vocally.

*Proximity- and interaction-avoiding behaviors* pertain to a situation which ordinarily elicits approach, greeting, or at least watching or interaction across a distance, as when an adult entered, or tried to engage the baby's attention. Such behaviors include ignoring the adult, pointedly avoiding looking at her, looking away, turning away, or moving away.

*Contact- and interaction-resisting behaviors* included angry, ambivalent attempts to push away, hit, or kick the adult who seeks to make contact, squirming to get down having been picked up, or throwing away or pushing away the toys through which the adult attempts to mediate her interventions. More diffuse manifestations are angry screaming, throwing self about, throwing self down, kicking the floor, pouting, cranky fussing, or petulance.

These four classes of behavior were scored for interaction with the mother in episodes 2, 3, 5, and 8, and for interaction with the stranger in episodes 3, 4, and 7.

*Search behavior* was scored for the separation episodes 4, 6, and 7. These behaviors include: following the mother to the door, trying to open the door, banging on the door, remaining oriented to the door or glancing at it, going to the mother's empty chair or simply looking at it. Such behaviors imply that the infant is searching for the absent mother either actively or by orienting to the last place in which she was seen (the door in most cases) or to the place associated with her in the strange situation (her chair.)

In scoring these five classes of behavior, the score was influenced by the following features: the strength of the behavior, its frequency, duration, and latency, and by the type of behavior itself—with active behavior being considered stronger than signaling. Detailed instructions for scoring these behaviors as well as for coding the frequency measures are provided elsewhere.[1]

Reliability coefficients (rho) for two independent scorers for 14 randomly selected cases were, for behaviors directed to the mother, as follows: proximity- and contact-seeking, 0.93; contact-maintaining, 0.97; proximity- and interaction-avoiding, 0.93; contact-resisting, 0.96; search, 0.94.

### *Findings*

The findings to be reported here are of behaviors characteristic of the sample as a whole. Individual differences were conspicuous, instructive, and significantly correlated with other variables. Some of these have been reported elsewhere (Ainsworth & Wittig 1969; Ainsworth & Bell in press; Bell in press) but they cannot be considered here.

*Exploratory behavior.*—Figure 1 shows how three forms of exploratory behavior vary in successive episodes from 2 through 7. There is a sharp decline in all forms of exploratory behavior from episode 2 when the baby was alone with his mother to episode 3 when the stranger was present also. (This and all other interepisode differences reported here are significant at the .01 level or better, as tested by the binomial test, unless noted otherwise.) Exploration remains depressed through episode 4 when the baby was left with the stranger. Visual and manipulatory exploration (visual at the .02 level) recover significantly in episode 5, aided by the the mother's attempts to interest the baby again in play, although similar efforts by the stranger in episodes 4 and 7 were ineffective. Visual and manipulatory exploration decline again in episode 6 after the mother departs for a second time, leaving the baby alone. All forms of exploratory behavior decline to their lowest point in episode 7 after the stranger had returned but while the mother was still absent.

To supplement the visual exploration score, which measured visual orientation to the physical environment, visual orientation to the mother and to the stranger were also coded. The only noteworthy findings may be summarized as follows: In episode 2, the baby looked at the toys and other

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[1] The following materials have been deposited with the National Auxiliary Publications Service: instructions for conducting the strange situation procedure, instructions to the mother, instructions for coding behaviors for frequency measures, and instructions for coding socially interactive behaviors. Orders NAPS Document 00762 from ASIS National Auxiliary Publications Service, c/o CMM Information Sciences, Inc., 22 West 34th Street, New York, New York 10001; remitting $3.00 for microfiche or $1.00 for photocopies.

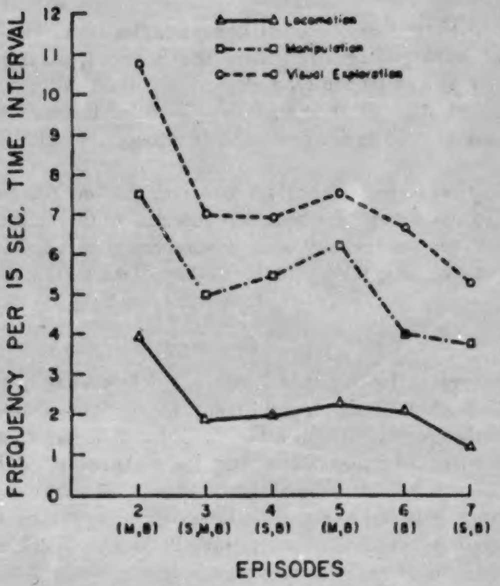

Fig. 1.—Incidence of exploratory behavior

aspects of the physical environment much more frequently than at the mother, at whom he glanced only now and then, keeping visual tabs on her; in episode 3, the stranger, the most novel feature of the environment, was looked at more than the toys, and the mother was looked at no more frequently than before.

*Crying.*—Figure 2 suggests that the strange situation does not in itself cause alarm or distress, for crying is minimal in episode 2. Crying does not increase significantly in episode 3 ($p = .065$), which suggests that the stranger was not in herself alarming for most Ss, at least not when the mother was also present. The incidence of crying rises in episode 4 with the mother's first departure; it declines upon her return in episode 5, only to increase sharply in episode 6 when she departs a second time, leaving the baby alone. It does not decrease significantly when the stranger returns in episode 7, which suggests that it is the mother's absence rather than mere aloneness that was distressing to most of the babies, and that the greater incidence of crying in episode 6 than in episode 4 is largely due to a cumulative effect.

*Search behavior during separation.*—The mean strength of search behavior was moderate in episode 4 (3.0), significantly stronger in episode 6 (4.6), and moderate again in episode 7 (2.5). Although this might sug-

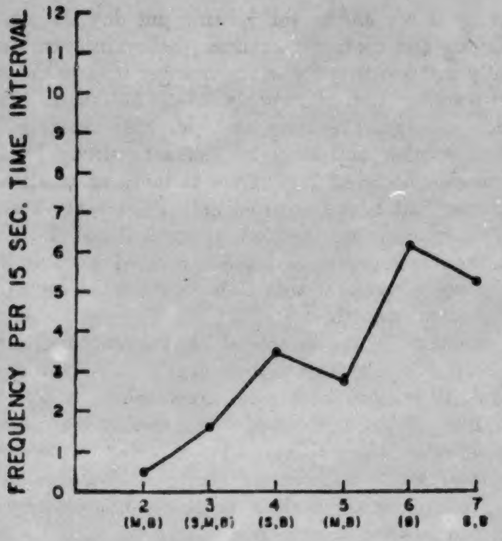

Fig. 2.—Incidence of crying

gest that search behavior is especially activated by being left alone and reduced in the presence of the stranger, this interpretation is not advanced because of the contingencies of the stranger's behavior and her location near the door. Some infants (37 percent) cried minimally if at all in episode 6, and yet searched strongly. Some (20 percent) cried desperately, but searched weakly or not at all. Some (32 percent) both cried and searched. All but four Ss reacted to being left alone with either one or other of these attachment behaviors.

*Proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining behaviors.*—Figure 3 shows that efforts to regain contact, proximity or interaction with the mother occur only weakly in episodes 2 and 3 but are greatly intensified by brief separation experiences. Contact-maintaining behavior is negligible in episodes 2 and 3, rises in the first reunion episode (5), and rises even more sharply in the second reunion episode (8). In the case of both classes of behavior the increase from episodes 2 through 5 to 8 is highly significant ($p < .001$). Some Ss showed these behaviors in relation to the stranger also. Thus, for example, a few infants approached the stranger in each of the episodes in which the stranger was present, but substantially fewer than those who approached the mother. Some infants were picked up by the stranger in episodes 4 and 7—in an attempt to comfort them—and some of these did cling to her and/or resist being put down again. Nevertheless proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining behaviors were displayed much less frequently and less strongly to the stranger than to the mother.

*Contact-resisting and proximity-avoiding behaviors.*—Table 1 shows the incidence of contact-resisting and proximity-avoiding behaviors directed to both mother and stranger. Contact-resisting behavior directed toward the mother occurred very rarely in the preseparation episodes because the mother had been instructed not to intervene except in response to the baby's demands, and therefore episodes 2 and 3 are omitted from the table. In the reunion episodes, some Ss resisted contact with the mother, but many did not. Therefore table 1 shows the incidence of this behavior rather than its mean strength.

About one third of the sample showed contact-resisting behavior to the mother in episode 5, at least to some degree, and about one half showed it in episode 8. All but one infant who scored relatively high (4 or higher) in contact-resisting behavior received a comparably high score on contact-maintaining behavior. Thus, at least when directed to the mother, contact-resisting behavior seems to represent classic ambivalence—wanting to be held, wanting to be close, and at the same time angrily resisting contact.

Contact and interaction with the stranger were also resisted but somewhat less frequently than with the mother. Six Ss showed fairly strong contact- or interaction-resisting behavior (scores of 4 or higher) with both

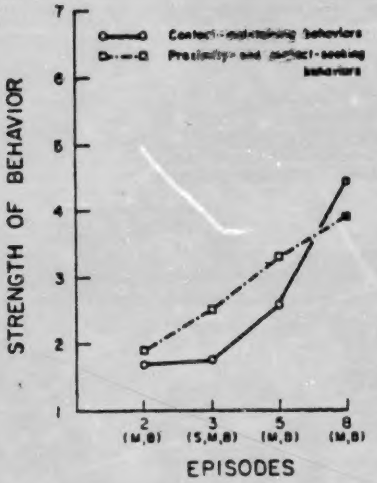

FIG. 3.—Strength of proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining behaviors directed toward the mother.

TABLE 1

INCIDENCE OF CONTACT-RESISTING AND PROXIMITY-AVOIDING BEHAVIOR TO MOTHER AND STRANGER

| STRENGTH OF BEHAVIOR | BEHAVIOR TO MOTHER |  | BEHAVIOR TO STRANGER |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Episode 5 | Episode 8 | Episode 3 | Episode 4 | Episode 7 |
| Resist Contact |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6–7 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 7 |
| 4–5 | 5 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 12 |
| 2–3 | 9 | 13 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 1 | 38 | 29 | 49 | 44 | 34 |
| Avoid Proximity |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6–7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| 4–5 | 17 | 13 | 7 | 3 | 6 |
| 2–3 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | 29 | 31 | 38 | 51 | 45 |

stranger in episode 7 and with mother in episode 8, but, for the most part, babies who tended to resist the mother did not resist the stranger and vice versa.

Proximity- and interaction-avoiding behavior did not occur in relation to the mother in the preseparation episodes, for the mother's nonparticipant role made no claim on the baby's attention. But, as shown in table 1, it occurred to some degree in about half the sample in each of the reunion episodes, 5 and 8. About one third of the sample avoided the stranger at some time in episode 3—ignoring her, avoiding meeting her eyes, or moving further away from her. The incidence of these behaviors declined in episode 4, and even in episode 7 remained less than in episode 3. About half the sample avoided neither mother nor stranger, but those who showed this behavior in any strength (score of 4 or over) to one did not show it to the other.

## DISCUSSION

These findings illustrate the complex interaction between attachment behavior, response to novel or unfamiliar stimulus objects and situations, and responses to separation from the attachment object and to subsequent reunion. First, let us consider response to novelty. It is now commonly accepted that novelty may elicit either fear and avoidance or approach and exploration, depending both on the degree of novelty and upon circumstances. One of the conditions which facilitates approach and exploration of the novel is the presence, in reasonable but not necessarily close proximity, of the mother—the object of attachment. The infants of the present sample showed little alarm in the preseparation episodes of the strange situation. Their attachment behavior was not activated; they tended not to cling to the mother or even to approach her. They used her as a secure base from which to explore the strange situation. This finding is not new. Similar observations have been reported by Arsenian (1943), Cox and Campbell (1968), Ainsworth and Wittig (1969), and Rheingold (1969) for human subjects, and by Harlow (1961) for rhesus macaque infants. The presence of the mother can tip the balance in favor of exploring the novel rather than avoiding it or withdrawing from it.

Absence of the mother tends to tip the balance in the opposite direction with a substantial heightening of attachment behavior and concomitant lessening of exploration. During the mother's absence, proximity-promoting behaviors (crying and search) are evident. The mother's return in the reunion episodes did not serve to redress the balance to its previous level. Attachment behaviors—proximity- and contact-seeking and contact-maintaining behaviors—remained heightened. Crying did not immediately subside in many cases and, despite the mother's attempts to evoke a renewed interest in exploring the properties of the toys, exploration remained depressed below its initial level.

It was assumed that separation episodes totaling 9 minutes at most would not have any lasting effect on the balance between attachment and exploratory behavior, and indeed the posttest behavior of the infants tended to confirm this assumption. Nevertheless these minuscule separations evoke behaviors which are similar in kind to those provoked by longer separations, although differing in duration and intensity. The behavior of these 1-year-old humans in response to separations lasting only a few minutes bears remarkable resemblance to the behavior of infant monkeys in response to separation for longer periods—a week (Spencer-Booth & Hinde 1966) or a month (Kaufman & Rosenblum 1967). In these experiments the mother was removed, and the infant left in his familiar social group. Attachment behavior, including distress calling and search for the mother, was heightened, and exploratory and play behavior was depressed during the separation. The infants responded more intensely to frightening stimuli during separation than when the mother was present. As separation continued there was some lessening of the intensity of distress and search, and some recovery of exploration and play—a recovery not manifest by the human infants in this sample in their very brief separations. When the mother was restored, however, the infant monkeys clung to her more and explored less than they had before separation—differing in this from nonseparated controls—and these effects lasted for three months or more.

The response of infant monkeys to experimental separations strongly resembles the behavior of young children, aged from 8 months to 3 years, when they undergo separations of several days, weeks, or even months away from home in hospitals or residential nurseries. Robertson and Bowlby (1952), Bowlby (1953), Schaffer (1958), and Heinicke and Westheimer (1965) have shown that the child is at first acutely distressed, protests the separation, and attempts to regain the mother by all means at his disposal. This initial phase of response tends to give way to despair, which in turn may give way—if the separation endures long enough—to a brightening of affect and renewed responsiveness to companions and to things in the environment. Attachment behavior directed toward the mother may have disappeared, but reunion with the mother tends to reactivate it and indeed to intensify it beyond its preseparation level. This heightened level tends to persist for a more or less prolonged period, usually much longer than the separation itself. During the period after reunion when the child's attachment behavior is heightened, he is focused on his mother, attends less to other people and to things in his environment, explores less, and presumably learns less. An unduly prolonged heightening of attachment behavior may be viewed as a distortion of the attachment-exploration balance. Some long-term follow-up studies (e.g., Bowlby, Ainsworth, Boston, & Rosenbluth, 1956) suggest that this kind of behavior, often described as overdependent, may in some instances be a lasting effect of long, depriving separations.

Let us turn from attachment behavior to consider those behaviors that work against contact- and proximity-seeking, namely, contact-resisting and proximity- and interaction-avoiding behaviors. Contact-resisting behavior, as directed toward the mother, usually occurred in conjunction with contact-seeking behavior, and hence, as suggested earlier, implies an ambivalent response. Ambivalent or rejecting and angry responses are reported as common in young children returning home after brief separations (e.g. Heinicke & Westheimer 1965.) Separation heightens aggressive behavior of this kind as well as attachment behavior, and predisposes the child toward angry outbursts upon minimal provocation. Spencer-Booth and Hinde (1966) report similar increase of aggression in monkeys: Unusually intense tantrums occur in response to any discouragement of contact-seeking behavior during the period of reunion after separation. Some of our strange-situation Ss showed contact-resisting behavior toward the stranger. Although in some cases this may indicate fear of the strange person, it seems likely that in some, perhaps most, it is a manifestation of aggression evoked by the mother's departure.

Proximity-avoiding behavior, on the other hand, seems likely to stem from different sources in the case of the stranger than in the case of the mother, even though the overt behavior seems the same in both cases. Ignoring the stranger, and looking, turning, or moving away from her probably imply an avoidance of the unfamiliar and fear-evoking person. This is suggested by the fact that these responses are more frequent (as directed toward the stranger) in episode 3, when the stranger has first appeared, than in later episodes. Similar avoidance of the mother cannot be due to unfamiliarity, and seems unlikely to be caused by fear. Such behavior occurs in the reunion episodes, and is more frequent than avoidance of the stranger.

Proximity- and interaction-avoiding behavior in relation to the mother is shown in striking form by some young children upon reunion after separations lasting for weeks or months. Robertson and Bowlby (1952) and Heinicke and Westheimer (1965) report that some children do not seem to recognize their mothers upon reunion, and that for a longer or shorter time they remain distant from her and treat her like a stranger. Bowlby (1960) has termed this kind of distanciation "detachment." During a prolonged separation, detachment tends to succeed protest and despair reactions, and after reunion it may persist for a long time—even indefinitely in cases in which separations have been very long and depriving. Such behavior has not yet been reported in nonhuman primates—perhaps because their experimental separations have been brief, perhaps because of species differences.

Avoidance responses of the kind observed in the strange situation in relation to the mother—looking away, turning away—may be detachment in the making and so constitute a primitive kind of defense. The constellation of individual differences in the strange-situation sample supports this hypothesis, although it is impossible here to present detailed evidence.

It may be pertinent, however, to refer to a similar looking-away response found in two experiments on the conditioning and extinction of attachment behaviors. Brackbill (1958) worked with the smiling response. During the conditioning period she provided contingent reinforcement for smiling by responding socially to the baby each time he smiled—and smiling increased in frequency. During the extinction period she met the baby's smile with an impassive face. Not only did the frequency of smiling decrease, but when the experimenter failed to respond to a smile, the baby fussed and looked away. It became increasingly difficult to catch the baby's eye. He looked away from the person who had previously reinforced his attachment behavior but who no longer did so. Similar results are reported for an experiment on babbling by Rheingold, Gewirtz, and Ross (1959).

These findings highlight the fact that in extinction—as indeed learning theorists have often themselves emphasized—there is an active process of blocking the response by another, antithetical behavior, rather than or in addition to the weakening of the strength of smiling (or babbling) behavior itself. This suggests that detached behavior may consist of responses, incompatible with attachment behavior, which have, often temporarily, gained the greater strength. That attachment can endure despite a period of detachment is shown by the strength with which attachment behavior can break through into overt expression in the case of young children who do not at reunion seem to recognize their mothers, but who subsequently manifest much heightened proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining behavior.

In summary, continuities have been noted between attachment and exploratory behavior and their activating and terminating conditions, observed in the microcosm of the laboratory strange-situation, and similar behaviors and conditions as reported by field studies, clinical studies, and experimental studies for both humans and nonhuman primate subjects. It is urged that the concept of attachment and attachment behavior employed as a guide in future studies be given a broad enough perspective to comprehend the spectrum of findings relevant to attachment which have been sampled in this discussion.

## PROPOSITIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPT OF ATTACHMENT

The following propositions are suggested as essential to a comprehensive concept of attachment. They are based on an ethological-evolutionary point of view, and have been formulated on the basis of reports of a broad range of investigations, including naturalistic studies of mother-infant interaction, and studies of mother-child separation and reunion in both human and nonhuman primates, as well as the illustrative strange-situation study reported here.

1. Attachment is not coincident with attachment behavior. Attachment behavior may be heightened or diminished by conditions—environmental and intraorganismic—which may be specified empirically. Despite situationally determined waxing and waning of attachment behavior, the individual is nevertheless predisposed intermittently to seek proximity to the object of attachment. It is this predisposition—which may be conceived as having an inner, structural basis—that is the attachment. Its manifestations are accessible to observation over time; a short time-sample may, however, be misleading.

2. Attachment behavior is heightened in situations perceived as threatening, whether it is an external danger or an actual or impending separation from the attachment object that constitutes the threat.

3. When strongly activated, attachment behavior is incompatible with exploratory behavior. On the other hand, the state of being attached, together with the presence of the attachment object, may support and facilitate exploratory behaviors. Provided that there is no threat of separation, the infant is likely to be able to use his mother as a secure base from which to explore, manifesting no alarm in even a strange situation as long as she is present. Under these circumstances the relative absence of attachment behavior—of proximity-promoting behavior—can not be considered an index of a weak attachment.

4. Although attachment behavior may diminish or even disappear in the course of a prolonged absence from the object of attachment, the attachment is not necessarily diminished; attachment behavior is likely to reemerge in full or heightened strength upon reunion, with or without delay.

5. Although individual differences have not been stressed in this discussion, the incidence of ambivalent (contact-resisting) and probably defensive (proximity-avoiding) patterns of behavior in the reunion episodes of the strange situation are a reflection of the fact that attachment relations are qualitatively different from one attached pair to another. These qualitative differences, together with the sensitivity of attachment behavior to situational determinants, make it very difficult to assess the strength or intensity of an attachment. It is suggested that, in the present state of our knowledge, it is wiser to explore qualitative differences, and their correlates and antecedents, than to attempt premature quantifications of strength of attachment.

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# COMMENTS ON SENATE BILL 626

By Raymond Moore, Ph.D.

HEWITT RESEARCH CENTER

## Services to Children and Families

I. Who shall have priority for services:

A. Children under six. We would prefer, however, to see this changed to children under nine or at least children under eight, and the focus should be on parent education for all children in order that parents might provide most of the child care rather than to induce, if not mandate, care for children in general.

B. Disadvantaged children (low-income families). We believe that broad definition should be given to the word "disadvantaged", although, with parent education, many children who are now disadvantaged may become advantaged without intervention by the Government. We strongly agree with a number of child psychiatrists who are under the conviction that simply because a few children need these services, is no reason to generalize them for all. In other words, simply because we provide insulin for diabetics does not mean that we need to provide insulin for all people.

C. Children of working mothers. When mothers must work obviously we must provide care for the children up until school age. And this care, we believe, should be as close to a home type environment as practicable. But many of these mothers do not have to work, and many of them would be happy not to work if they were convinced that the developmental needs of their children (and hopefully the conventional wisdom and social pressure) pointed that way.

D. Children of single parents. Same comments apply as to (C) above.

II. How services shall be obtained:

A. On a voluntary basis. But here again we must note that many times social pressures are nearly as powerful and in some cases more powerful than legal mandates.

B. Must be requested by parents. But such opportunities should not be laid before the parents without careful education on the developmental needs of their children, so that they clearly see both sides of the picture. This is very important.

III. Availability of funds:

A. Funds to be appropriated for these services only when equal or greater funds have been appropriated for Headstart programs. Headstart now has become quite a broad program, including Homestart and others. We do not understand whether or not this portion of the proposed legislation is simply a political gesture because Headstart has become such a big thing. We see no great harm in using the term Headstart if it is understood clearly that it is treated in a broader perspective in terms of parent education, and without social pressures, as noted above. Otherwise we believe that this provision would be inappropriate.

B. Funds available to public and private non-profit agencies (including educational). See no impropriety here as long as there is a clear-cut philosophy in these agencies of concentrating on the home rather than on out-of-home care, except where absolutely necessary.

IV. Services for which funds may be used: It should be noted in this connection that Title 1, Section 101 (A) of the legislation obligates this Secretary to "take all necessary action to coordinate child and family service programs under his jurisdiction". It should be observed that this program may very clearly depend upon the philosophy of the Secretary and his staff. Parameters should be built in to center type of care wherever possible, and educate to that end. While we will make further statement in the summary of this analysis, perhaps it should be pointed out here that this entire bill seems to make much more of an effort of concentrating on parenting. than before, Yet actually it is seeking to involve parents in care out of the home more than it is involving professionals to help parents and in otherwise to educate for sound care of the child within the home. These particularly apply to A and B immediately below. Another question that arises here is whether or not these services for which funds may be used are those other than Headstart, or include the large proportion of the money for Headstart?

A. Part-or full-day child care programs in

1. Child's own home. This is often needed.
2. Group homes. Also promising as a form of family day care.
3. Other care facilities. It should be noted that there are other avenues as well as those mentioned above. John Bowlby, for example, believes that mother clubs of one kind or another, where mothers can bring the children together, might be encouraged.

B. Educational programs to meet special needs of children and families.

C. Family services, such as education and consultation for parents or other family members functioning in the capacity of parents, and for prospective and expectant parents. There are a number of techniques that might be mentioned here such as a much broader use of the mass media, perhaps utilizing one-minute spots on television for education of parents, the possibility of using block parties, etc.

D. Other social, medical, and special services (see pp. 8-9).

V. Criteria for assistance to programs:

A. Maintain a parent policy committee (see p. 10 for composition of committee). We have some reason to doubt that parent policy committees should include only"parents of children served by such program". We can see a majority of members as such parents, but why not utilize experienced parents whose children have already passed these years, and specialists in the local community who may make a contribution without charge to the program.

B. Provide for regular and frequent dissemination of information to parents. We refer again to the media, particularly spots on both TV and radio as well as direct dissemination. There is also the possibility of involving parents in programs within the school. For example we are considering the possibility of having certain schools in Benton Harbor, from grades 4 through 6 and possibly 7 and 8, have the children go to school a half-day for relatively intensive [illegible] and spend half of the day out working on community projects. This would be done without pay, but to build not only manual skills, but character qualities and responsibility, dependability, order, promptness, industry, etc., as well as nicer graces of patience, kindness and concern for others and willingness to serve. Parents can participate in such programs with great effectiveness if they join with the teachers.

C. Provide for regular consultation with parents. This is an old and proven technique if followed through.

D. Maintain a Child and Family Service Council made up of parents and members [illegible] by the prime sponsor. At least one-third of the membership shall be persons who are economically disadvantaged. We asked the question of why "at least" one-third of the membership. This may in some cases be well over half or two-thirds. And this might be entirely undesirable. Such policies have led to some of our most serious obstructions of sound practice in some of our disadvantaged areas.

E. To the extent feasible, include children from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, with an appropriate and flexible fee schedule. We believe that this might be sound where out-of-home care is absolutely essential. In a number of places in Europe the flexible fee schedule is working effectively. But we must hasten to point out that where generalized day-care is provided, a greater and greater demand is created.

This has resulted in parent strikes in schools in Germany, for example, where they have 45 children per teacher and do not want to take in any more children, yet where parents picket the schools because their children will not be taken in. Some preschools in France go as high 1 to 50 and 1 to 60 in their adult-child ratios.

F. Include attention to language and the history and cultural background of minority and bilingual groups. This goes without saying, but should not be made a fetish.

VI. Apportionment of funds:

A. At least 10% for handicapped children. We are not exactly sure why the 10% figure is placed in here. Handicapped children should receive attention regardless of what it costs. And they should have one of the highest priorities. And we of course are treating"handicapped" as a word which implies children who are physically or emotionally or psychologically handicapped beyond the normal definition of "disadvantaged". And we should realize that these may include children from affluent and middle class homes.

B. Funds to be apportioned for children of migrant agricultural workers, disadvantaged children, and children of Indian tribal organizations. A great need, but should be done dispassionately.

C. Not more than 5% for model programs. We are not sure that 5% is adequate here. At least 10% would seem a more likely restriction, for experimentation is needed. As for example in Benton Harbor which is now considered to be one of the worst cities in the nation. The people are now realizing that they have been going in the wrong direction in fragmenting the family through the ADC programs which push the fathers out at one end and the social pressures on preschool which push the little children out at the other end. We are proposing model programs which integrate rather than fragment the family.

D. At least 5% for monitoring and enforcing standards. The words "at least" here bother me. It seems to me we should certainly monitor and enforce the programs, but this encourages a higher overhead than may be necessary.

E. Remaining funds allocated to States for:

1. Disadvantaged children, 50%.

2. Children under six, 25%.

3. Children of working mothers and single parents, 25%.

We would be interested in knowing why these are stated in this way, when States have such different problems. In other words we feel that this is quite arbitrary.

VII. Projected research:

A. Techniques to measure and evaluate child and family services, and to test alternative methods of providing such services. Yes.

B. Testing preschool programs emphasizing reading and reading readiness. We have reservations. Academic slant not needed.

C. Screening and testing for physical and learning disabilities, and for diagnosis and treatment of health problems. By all means.

D. Evaluation, dissemination, and application of research findings. Some kind of teeth should be put into this provision. Currently there is little real attention to the correlation or interrelation of research, and even less to its dissemination in an understandable way. The result is that the typical legislator does not really understand the language of the professionals and makes himself ripe for those of vested interests who come in with simpler language. And regarding the application of research, we have one of the greatest needs of all, for all kinds of rationale are utilized to place conventional wisdom and wishful thinking over the hard facts of research.

Conclusions and Recommendations.

General: As indicated earlier the intent of this bill appears to be very similar to the earlier Mondale-Javits Bill in that it seems to focus largely on out-of-home experiences. It appears to go much further in a design to include parents in planning and implementation of care services for their children, yet our research clearly tells us that this is the wrong way to look as a central direction.

Some Services needed: As we have repeatedly pointed out, we must provide sound care for children whose parents cannot or will not take care of them adequately at home, and to the extent that Bill S 626 makes these provisions, we certainly commend it. There are many parents who for financial, psychological, emotional, or physical reasons simply are unable to provide the proper care for the children. Sound care should be provided for these children.

Yet for other children-the great majority of America's very young-we believe that this legislation should be modified to concentrate on parent education which will help these parents understand the developmental needs of their children and encourage them by every means possible to take care of their own children in their own homes. Our hopes are that the conventional wisdom and social pressures might thus be reversed or at least strongly modified. This is practicable if care is taken to help parents know how to build values in their children and in turn feel their own adequacy as parents.

Research: We would also recommend that comprative studies be made as between schools and institutions on the one hand and home with parents on the other in which achievement, maturity (including sociality, attitudes toward school, etc.) and behavior might be studied. We have repeatedly had calls for comparative studies, longitudinal in nature, or at least using longitudinal data, in which early school entrants are compared with those who are retained in the home under reasonably sound care. Research in all ECE areas should be more thoroughly interrelated and more simply, widely and completely communicated, using all media available with greatest skill.

Dignity of Parenthood: One of the several critics separately involved in this summary and analysis wrote of the need of the Government to re-establish in mothers confidence in their motherhood. Help them to sense that they are able to take care of their own children and that their children are better off in their care. There's a great deal of emphasis these days on the socialization of children. Many do not realize that little children need much time in solitude to work out their own fantasies. They do not need to have these experiences and this care diluted or distracted by group peer pressures which they almost invariably find in preschools, with possible dilution of their values as they move from home into schools. Wherever possible, children need to learn the vairous character qualities mentioned above-dependability, patience, etc. - without the constant distraction of the nursery school or of other entertainment outside the home.

It may be necessary to subsidize some mothers as well as to train them, particularly those mothers who, when they learn the developmental needs of their children are willing to stay home with them. As we have pointed out, from our research findings, this is probably far more cost-effective than our present programs which tend to gragment the home instead of building a sense of adequacy in parents.

March 12, 1975

The Honorable Walter Mondale
The United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

I write this in reference to the sponsoring of new legislation to upgrade and increase day care, preschool education, health and nutrition services available to families for their children.

I am concerned about the direction of this legislation in that its appeal is to attract more and more mothers into the work force and plays down the advantage to families and to society to have mothers at home caring for their young. I am aware of all the arguments for adequate day care programs and understand their need. But to ignore the value of a mother at home and to not publicize its advantage is downright political malpractice. I have been to Russia and seen their day-care programs, to Israel and seen their programs for the 4% of the population living on kibutzam. I seriously question this trend in this country as the optimum type of care for the majority of our young children although I know of its need for too many psychologically and financially impaired families.

This is a matter of deep concern for the type of family life this Nation wishes to nurture. Financially, it may appeal to many mothers to seek increased income, but no one has said what will happen to our economic system when almost all mothers are working. What will be done then to boost the GNP? I know that few politicians will risk their jobs by advocating for mothers who remain at home in the care of children to age 6 years a subsidy the equivalent of the average earned salary per year. This needs to be seriously considered if we really are concerned about children and family life. Additionally, politicians must be courageous leaders and inform parents of the value of the mother's presence in the home where it is at all possible for her to be there. Where she isn't able to do this, she should know that a substitute although necessary, can never replace adequate mothering, which means a more favorable home life for her and her husband. It is harder for a woman to manage a home than to work as a secretary, lawyer, research worker, cab driver, etc. I know of no greater reward than to raise children immune to all the trappings of social and personal failure. Therefore, I appeal to you to include a statement setting forth the advantages of a mother's care for her children in the home during their early years.

Most respectfully,

Sidney Berman, M.D.
Past-President, American
Academy of Child Psychiatry

SB:tm
Enclosure
cc: Senator Jacob Javits
Representative John Brademus
Representative Alphonzo Bell
Representative Margaret M. Heckler

P.S. I have included an article in which I make reference to this matter on page 600. I do hope you have time to read it for it makes direct reference to your legislative proposal regarding day care.

# Anxious Attachment and Defensive Reactions Associated with Day Care

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*Johns Hopkins University*

BLEHAR, MARY CURTIS. *Anxious Attachment and Defensive Reactions Associated with Day Care.* CHILD DEVELOPMENT, 1974, 45, 683–692. 20 2- and 3-year-old children attending full-time group day care were compared with 20 home-reared children of the same ages in a standardized strange situation. Analysis focused on responses to separation from and reunion with the mother. Findings indicate qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relationship in day-care children, and this was attributed to the disruptive effects of frequent daily separations. The child's age at the time that day care began influenced the kind of disturbance shown. Those who started day care at age 2 showed avoidant behavior upon reunion with the mother, whereas those who started day care at age 3 showed anxious, ambivalent behavior.

Full-day group care for infants and toddlers differs from home care in two major ways. A child in group care is reared by multiple caregivers rather than by one or a few figures, and he is separated daily from his primary mother figure. Bowlby (1969, 1973) hypothesized that an infant is biased genetically to maintain a degree of proximity to his mother figure and predisposed toward becoming attached to her. Does full-time group day care constitute a sufficient departure from the environment to which a child's behavioral systems are preadapted to generate anomalies in the development of attachment? More specifically, can an infant develop an attachment to his mother figure if he spends 9 or 10 hours a day with substitute caregivers in a group setting? Can a young child who has already become attached to his mother figure sustain a normal relationship with her despite the repeated, long daily separations implicit in day care? There is a dearth of research addressed to these questions.

Caldwell, Wright, Honig, and Tannenbaum (1970) studied the effects of day care on infants who entered care in the first year of life or early in the second year. They focused on a number of variables purporting to reflect the strength of child-mother attachment—affiliation, nurturance, absence of hostility, permissiveness, dependency, happiness, and emotionality. Finding no significant differences between their day-care and home-reared groups, they concluded that full-time day care did not prevent children from developing attachments of normal strength to their mothers.

The present study concerns older children who were at home with their mothers either 2 or 3 years before beginning day care. It addresses itself not to the question of day care's effects on attachment formation processes, but to the effects of repeated daily separations on qualitative aspects of established attachment relationships.

Research into children's responses to major separations, lasting weeks or months, has demonstrated adverse effects, the severity of which depends on a number of factors, such as the child's age, the length of the separation, and the availability of responsive substitute caregivers. In one notable study, Robertson and Bowlby (1952) observed three distinct phases in children's reactions to major institutional separation. Initially, there occurred a protest phase followed by a despair phase. If the separation was very long and conditions were depriving, children would manifest a detachment phase, marked by loss of interest in the mother and

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This study was undertaken as a doctoral dissertation at the Johns Hopkins University. An early version of this paper was presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia, March 1973, in a symposium entitled "Anxious Attachment and Defensive Reactions." I wish to thank Mary D. Ainsworth and Julian Stanley for their critical comments and Mary B. Main for her assistance in the data analysis. Author's address: Department of Psychology, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

superficiality in interpersonal relationships. Detachment was interpreted as a defensive behavioral pattern stemming from repression of anxiety and ambivalence occasioned by separation.

Reunion behaviors of children after major separation typically consist of angry rejection of or apparent indifference to the mother, alternating with heightened attachment behaviors (Heinicke & Westheimer 1965). However, detached children tend to persist in this mode, sometimes indefinitely, before reestablishing a relationship, usually of a permanently anxious quality (Robertson & Bowlby 1952). Ainsworth (personal communication), having examined Robertson and Bowlby's data, reported that younger children in their sample (between ages 1 and 2½) were more likely to develop detachment than older children (between ages 3 and 4), who were more capable of maintaining an attachment to the mother, albeit of an anxious quality.

Although some disturbance is a predictable outcome of separation once a child has become attached, distress can be attenuated if he has the opportunity to form a close relationship with a substitute figure (e.g., Robertson & Robertson 1971) or if he remains in a familiar environment while separated from his mother (Yarrow 1961).

In order to assess the possibility that day care could affect attachment, the strange situation, a technique sensitive to qualitative differences in the mother-child relationship, was chosen. This situation first elicits exploratory behavior, and then, through a series of separations and reunions, heightened attachment behavior. Ainsworth, Bell, and Stayton (1971) classified 1-year-olds into three groups chiefly on the basis of reunion behaviors. The first group was active in seeking and maintaining proximity to and contact with the mother upon reunion. A second group sought little proximity or contact but actively avoided proximity and interaction. A third group mixed seeking proximity and contact with resistance of contact and interaction. Stable relationships were found, both between the infant's strange-situation behavior and his home behavior and between his behavior and maternal behavior. Infants in the first group had histories of harmonious interaction with the mother, while infants in the other groups had histories of disturbed interaction. Ainsworth and Bell (1970) compared avoidant and resistant behaviors observed in the strange situation with detachment and ambivalence others have noted in young children after major separation.

Although Ainsworth has used her situation to study individual differences in attachment, others (Maccoby & Feldman 1972; Marvin 1972) have also used it to observe normative patterns of attachment behavior and changes in patterns over the first 4 years of life. They found a gradual decline in seeking contact with the mother upon reunion and then in seeking proximity to her. Maintaining of contact upon reunion tended to disappear by age 2, and seeking of proximity tended to disappear by age 4. Separation protest declined more sharply around age 3.

In the present study, the strange situation was used to compare responses to separation from and reunion with the mother in groups of day-care and home-reared children. Depending on one's theoretical point of view, there are three predictions that can be made: (1) day-care children will behave no differently from the controls, on the assumption that day care does not affect attachment; (2) day-care children will be less distressed by separation and will exhibit less strongly heightened attachment behaviors upon reunion because of their more frequent experiences with separation; (3) day-care children will exhibit disturbances in attachment related to daily separation, and the type of disturbance will be related to the child's developmental level at the time of entering day care.

## Method

### *Subjects*

The subjects were 40 middle-class children, all but one white. Twenty were enrolled in full-time group day care and 20 were reared by their mothers at home. Ten of the day-care group had entered centers at a mean age of 25.66 months (SD = 1.81 months) and 10 at a mean age of 34.83 months (SD = 2.45 months). Both groups had been enrolled for approximately the same length of time when observed—4.55 months for the younger group (SD = 2.56 months) and 4.78 months for the older group (SD = 1.69 months). When observed they had mean ages of 30.23 months (SD = 2.20 months) and 39.62 months (SD = 1.98 months), respectively. The mean ages of the home-reared groups at the time of observation were 30.23 months (SD = 1.98 months) and 39.46 months (SD = 1.95 months). Equal numbers of males and females were observed at each age level.

One assumption underlying the comparison was that the groups were equivalent on variables affecting the quality of attachment other than the daily separations implicit in day care. This assumption would be unnecessary in an experimental study which randomly assigned children to day care or home rearing, but such a study would be extremely difficult to carry out. However, all children were from middle-class homes, both in terms of parental education and income. Both parents were present in the home. Measures of the home environment which support the assumption of equivalence between the groups will be reported below. Eighty percent of day-care children and 60% of home-reared children were firstborn. Four day-care children had been cared for by babysitters approximately 4 months before starting group day care. Three home-reared 40-month-olds attended nursery school two or three mornings a week.

Cooperation in collecting a day-care sample was obtained from four private centers that followed traditional nursery school regimes with little emphasis on structured academic programs. The degree of structuring in play and the amount of organized group activities were greater for the older children than for the younger. Children were segregated into groups of 2- and 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds, and 5-year-olds. Two caregivers were assigned to each group, and they did not shift over the course of the week. On the average, caregivers tended to remain in their positions for 3 years. At age 4 and again at age 5, children moved up into a new group with new caregivers. In the 2- and 3-year-old group, the ratio of caregivers to children was 1:8 or 1:6, depending on the center. A registered nurse was on hand daily at two of the centers. Names of all children attending the centers were provided beforehand by directors, and from this list parents were contacted individually. All but one agreed to cooperate. Pediatricians in private practice supplied names of home-reared children, and all but two parents contacted agreed to participate.

### *Procedure*

The first part of the procedure entailed a 1½-hour home visit to each mother-child pair by the investigator. Its purposes were to establish rapport with the mother, to instruct her about the study, and to assess the general quality of stimulation provided the child by his home environment. Each visit was rated on the Inventory of Home Stimulation, devised by Caldwell (Caldwell et al. 1970). The majority of the items were straightforward and depended on firsthand observation of the home and of mother-child interaction rather than on maternal report alone. For example, it was noted if the mother spoke spontaneously to the child at least twice, if she caressed or kissed him, if books were present and visible, or if he had a pet. A measure of the mother's empathy or social sensitivity was obtained by use of a Q-sort technique devised by Hogan (1969). The mother was rated by the observer immediately after each visit.

Approximately 2 weeks later, each mother-child pair participated in a standardized strange situation at Johns Hopkins University. The experimental room had a 9 × 9-foot area of clear floor space. One wall contained one-way-vision mirrors. Near the opposite wall stood a child's chair with toys heaped on and around it. Near the window on one side of the room was a chair for the mother and opposite it a chair for the stranger. The situation consisted of eight episodes, each except the first 3 minutes long (see table 1).

A continuous description of the child's behavior was dictated into recorders, which also picked up the sound of a buzzer every 15 seconds. The transcribed narrative reports were marked off into time intervals. In 65% of the cases there were two independent observers, and in the other cases the investigator served as sole observer. The second observer, in all but four instances, was an individual who was unaware of the hypotheses of the study and of the child's group membership. Two women played the role of stranger in all but three cases, when a substitute had to be found. The first woman was stranger for 12 home-reared and nine day-care children and the second woman was stranger for eight home-reared and eight day-care children. Individual narrative accounts were consolidated for analysis and three types of measures were extracted: frequency measures, percentage measures, and scores of social interaction with the mother and the stranger.

*Frequency measures and percentages.*—Four measures were obtained by making counts of the frequency of the following behaviors: exploratory manipulation, crying, oral behavior, and distance interaction with the mother. Exploratory manipulation was defined as shaking,

TABLE 1

STRANGE-SITUATION EPISODES

| Episode No. | Duration | Participants | Description of Episode |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 30 sec, approximately | O, M, C | O ushers M and C into the room. C is set down on the floor |
| 2 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min | M, C | C is free to explore. M reads a magazine |
| 3 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min | S, M, C | S enters, sits quietly for a moment, interacts with M, then with C |
| 4 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min[a] | S, C | M leaves. S remains with C; responds to his advances or comforts him if necessary |
| 5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min | M, C | S leaves as M enters<br>M comforts C if he is distressed, then reinterests him in toys |
| 6 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min[a] | C | M leaves C alone in room |
| 7 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min[a] | S, C | S enters; attempts to comfort C if distressed; returns to her chair |
| 8 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . | 3 min | M, C | M enters as S leaves<br>M behaves as in episode 5 |

NOTE.—O = observer; M = mother; C = child; S = stranger.

[a] The duration of episode was curtailed if the child became very distressed.

banging, turning over, or other active involvement with a toy. Crying was defined as distressed vocalization, ranging from a fuss to a full-blown cry. Oral behavior was defined as chewing or sucking of fingers or toys. For these behaviors, a frequency count of the 15-second intervals in which they occurred was obtained. Distance interaction was a composite of the absolute frequency of smiling and showing a toy to the mother and the 15-second interval frequency of vocalizations to the mother. Relative frequency of vocalization was used because it was extremely difficult to determine in a time interval when a particular vocalization stopped and another started in those cases where the child talked almost incessantly. The distance interaction measure (taken from Maccoby & Feldman 1972), was used only in episode 2 when the mother was noninterventive in order to obtain an index of the child's spontaneous interest in her. In episode 3, the presence of the stranger reduced the behavior to a very low level. The following coefficients of interobserver reliability were obtained for the frequency measures: exploratory manipulation, .98; crying, .98; oral behavior, .90; distance interaction, .85.

Percentages of children who approached and who touched the mother in reunion episodes, who exhibited oral behavior, who cried, and who resisted contact and interaction were also used in conjunction with the frequency measures and the social interaction scores.

*Social interaction scores.*—Another part of the analysis involved detailed codings of socially interactive behaviors with the mother and with the stranger on the basis of the narrative reports. Each child was scored on seeking proximity and contact, avoiding proximity and interaction, and resisting contact and interaction. Intensity of search behavior for the mother during separation episodes was also scored. The scoring system was adopted with only minor modifications from Ainsworth et al. (1971). The following is a brief description of the contents of the behavioral categories.

1. Proximity- and contact-seeking behaviors include active approach, clambering up, active gestures such as reaching, partial approaches, and vocal signals.

2. Proximity- and interaction-avoiding behaviors pertain to episodes which normally elicit approach, or greeting. Behaviors include backing away, ignoring, gaze aversion, and looking away. Avoiding the mother is scored only in reunion episodes.

3. Contact- and interaction-resisting behaviors include angry attempts to push away, hit, or kick the adult, squirming to get away from the adult, pushing away toys, or displays of temper when the adult attempts to intervene in the child's ongoing activities.

4. Search behavior includes following mother to the door, trying to open it, going to the mother's chair, looking at her chair, and looking at the door. The behaviors imply that the child is seeking to regain proximity to the absent mother.

The behaviors were scored independently by two judges, one of whom was unaware of the child's rearing-group classification, and the following coefficients of interscorer agreement were obtained: seeking proximity to the mother, .97; to the stranger, .98; resistance of mother, .93; of stranger, .92; avoiding of mother, .94; of stranger, .88; search behavior, .98.

*Methods of analysis.*—Analyses of variance were conducted for all measures obtained from the home visit and all measures obtained from the strange situation, except orality. In this case, a nonparametric test was used because of the skewness of the distribution. Separate analyses were performed for behavior to mother and to stranger. There were three independent variables—age, sex, and rearing group—forming a 2 × 2 × 2 factorial design, and one within-subjects repeated measure of episode.

Scores on each behavior to the mother and to the stranger and on frequency measures were obtained for each episode, and a total score for a behavior was obtained by summing scores for the relevant episodes. The interaction of episode with the independent variables was also examined.

## Results

### *Testing the Equivalence of Groups*

Table 2 gives the mean scores for the day-care and home-reared groups on the Inventory of Home Stimulation and its subscales. None of the differences was significant. The empathy measure likewise did not discriminate significantly between mothers of the day-care and home-reared children. Although detailed assessments of each mother's sensitivity to her child's signals and communications were not made, the groups' equivalence on the measures obtained suggests that the children observed were receiving normal mothering and stimulation from their home environment adequate for healthy development.

TABLE 2

GROUP MEANS FOR INVENTORY OF HOME STIMULATION

| | Day Care | Home Care |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Total score | 35.30 | 35.80 |
| 2. Emotional-verbal responsiveness of mother | 9.40 | 8.95 |
| 3. Avoidance of restriction and punishment | 4.79 | 5.20 |
| 4. Organization of physical and temporal environments | 5.85 | 5.85 |
| 5. Provision of appropriate play materials | 8.25 | 8.30 |
| 6. Maternal involvement with child | 3.40 | 3.95 |
| 7. Opportunities for variety in daily stimulation | 3.70 | 3.85 |

### *Behavior in the Strange Situation*

Table 3 presents a summary of the ANOVA findings. Sex and age differences were relatively few and will not be discussed further. Episode effects are highly significant and in agreement with those reported elsewhere by Ainsworth and Bell (1970). Differences in attachment behavior to the mother between first and later-born children were also examined by ANOVAs and were not significant. However, the data are consistent in showing rearing group differences and interactions of age with rearing group.

*Exploratory behavior.*—Table 3 indicates a significant age × rearing group interaction in the total amount of exploratory manipulation occurring in the strange situation, $F(1,32) = 5.83$, $p < .025$. Day-care 40-month-olds were lowest in exploration ($\bar{X} = 7.48$) and home-reared 40-month-olds were highest ($\bar{X} = 9.68$). Day-care 30-month-olds were intermediate between their home-reared age counterparts ($\bar{X} = 8.9$ vs. $\bar{X} = 8.2$) and the older home-reared children. All groups decreased in exploration during separation episodes, but these changes were most marked in the older day-care group and least marked in the older home-reared group.

*Separation behaviors.*—A significant main effect, $F(1,32) = 4.60$, $p < .05$, indicates that total crying was higher in day-care children than in home-reared children. However, an age × rearing group interaction, $F(1,32) = 3.78$, $p < .07$, suggests that the main effect may be accounted for chiefly by differences in the 40-month-old groups (40-month-old day-care $\bar{X} = 3.3$ vs. 40-month-old home-reared $\bar{X} = 0.22$). In the 30-month-old groups, day-care children were only slightly higher in amount of crying than home-reared children ($\bar{X} = 1.72$ vs. $\bar{X} = 1.57$).

Oral behavior in episode 7 was also more conspicuous in day-care children than in home-reared children (randomization test for two independent samples: $p < .0005$). Orality occurred most frequently in episode 7, apparently a result of anxiety over the mother's absence compounded by the appearance of the stranger when the mother was expected to return. Forty-five percent of day-care children but only 15% of home-reared children engaged in oral behavior in this episode, $\chi^2(1) = 4.29$, $p < .05$.

### TABLE 3

### Summary of ANOVA Findings

| Source of Variation | Exploratory Manipulation | Crying | Distance Interaction to M | Proximity to M | Resisting M | Avoiding M | Proximity to S | Resisting S | Avoiding S | Search |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .025 | .025 | ... | ... | ... |
| Rearing group (Rear. grp.) | ... | .05 | .025 | ... | .05 | .0005 | .05 | ... | .001 | ... |
| Age | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .025 | ... | ... | ... |
| Sex × rear. grp. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sex × age | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Rear. grp. × age | .025 | .10 | ... | .10 | ... | ... | .05 | ... | ... | .05 |
| Sex × rear. grp. × age | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .005 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Episode (Ep.) | .0005 | .001 | NA | ... | ... | .10 | .10 | .025 | .0005 | .0005 |
| Sex × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Rear. grp. × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | .10 | ... | ... | ... | .005 | ... |
| Age × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sex × rear. grp. × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Sex × age × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Rear. grp. × age × ep. | ... | ... | ... | .025 | ... | ... | ... | .05 | .10 | ... |
| Sex × rear. grp. × age × ep. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Note.—M = mother; S = stranger; NA = not applicable.

Search behavior in episodes 4, 6, and 7 was another indicator of separation anxiety since it represented attempts to regain proximity to the absent mother by going to the door or at least looking at her chair. An age × rearing group interaction, $F(1,32) = 5.14$, $p < .05$, depicted in figure 1, indicates that day-care 40-month-olds searched most for the mother ($\bar{X} = 3.72$) and home-reared 40-month-olds searched least ($\bar{X} = 2.05$). The two 30-month-old groups were much closer together in total amount of search, although the home-reared children showed slightly stronger behavior ($\bar{X} = 3.15$ vs. $\bar{X} = 2.75$). The older day-care children were conspicuous for engaging in active search (i.e., going to the door and attempting to open it) even in episode 4 when children in the other groups tended to maintain exploratory manipulation, and merely looked at the door, if they displayed any search at all.

### *Behavior to the Mother*

*Distance interaction.*—Home-reared children of both ages interacted more with their mothers across a distance in episode 2 than did day-care children ($\bar{X} = 6.08$ vs. $\bar{X} = 4.06$) as is indicated by a main effect, $F(1,32) = 6.66$, $p < .025$. This finding could be interpreted as indicating that day-care children are more independent of their mothers, at least in their free-play activities, than home-reared children. However, a negative correlation ($r = -.42$, $p < .01$) between distance interaction in episode 2 and resistant and avoidant behaviors directed toward the mother in later reunion episodes suggests that little interaction of this type before separation is a precursor of negative tendencies, which become more apparent in the reunion episodes and which indicate a disturbance in the mother-child relationship.

*Proximity-seeking behaviors.*—Figure 2 shows that group differences in seeking the mother's proximity tended to be small in preseparation episodes 2 and 3, but increased in reunion episodes, age × rearing group × episode interaction, $F(3,96) = 3.85$, $p < .025$. In episode 5, day-care 40-month-olds showed heightened attachment behavior, whereas their home-reared age counterparts showed little. In episode 8, the older day-care group continued to increase somewhat in proximity seeking, and the older home-reared group declined slightly. Home-reared 30-month-olds showed clear heightening of attachment behaviors in this episode, whereas their day-care counterparts tended to decrease somewhat in proximity seeking. The contrast in this episode between the combined day-care 30-month-old and home-reared 40-month-old group means and the other two means combined is significant (Scheffé test, $p < .025$) and accounts for most of the variance in the interaction. Past strange-situation work (e.g., Ainsworth et al. 1971) has shown that individual differences in seeking the mother's proximity are most clearly highlighted after separation in the reunion episodes, and especially after two separations in the second reunion, episode 8.

The percentage of children in each group who actually approached and touched the mother upon reunion in episode 8 was also

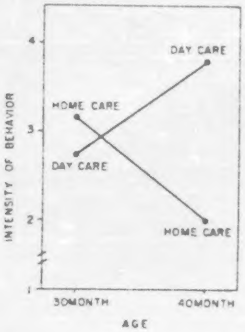

FIG. 1.—Age × rearing group interaction in search behavior during separation episodes.

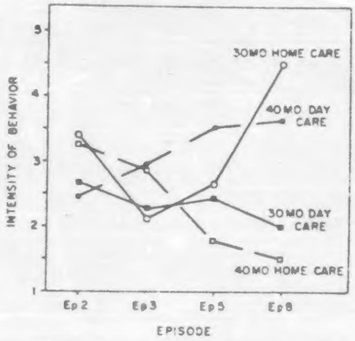

FIG. 2.—Age × rearing group × episode interaction in proximity seeking to the mother.

calculated. Although two of the findings are only trends, day-care 40-month-olds seemed more likely to do so than their home-reared counterparts (60% vs. 10%, Fisher Exact Test, two-tailed, $p < .10$, approach; 60% vs. 0%, $p < .025$, touch). Day-care 30-month-olds seemed less likely to do so than their home-reared age counterparts ($\bar{X} = 30\%$ vs. 90%, $p < .025$, approach; 10% vs. 60%, $p < .10$, touch).

*Resisting and avoiding behaviors.*—Resistance to the mother tended to be a low-intensity behavior in the children studied. However, day-care children resisted the mother more than home-reared children, $F(1,32) = 5.22$, $p < .05$. The behavior occurred in only 20% of day-care and home-reared 30-month-olds but in 60% of the older day-care group. It was completely absent in the older home-reared group. This finding suggests that the older day-care children were somewhat more overtly ambivalent toward the mother than the other groups. Proximity-avoiding behaviors upon reunion were also more conspicuous in day-care children of both ages than in home-reared children ($\bar{X} = 3.2$ vs. $\bar{X} = 1.8$), $F(1,32) = 16.36$, $p < .0005$, although they occurred more markedly in the younger day-care group than in the older group.

### *Behavior to the Stranger*

Day-care children sought less proximity to the stranger than did home-reared children, $F(1,32) = 4.40$, $p < .05$, but an age × rearing group interaction, $F(1,32) = 5.24$, $p < .05$, suggests that the younger home-reared children accounted for this difference by seeking a moderate amount of proximity to the stranger. Resistance to the stranger was higher in day-care 40-month-olds than in the other groups, especially during separation episodes 4 and 7, as a rearing group × age × episode interaction, $F(1,32) = 4.30$, $p < .05$, indicates. In general, day-care children of both ages were more avoidant of the stranger than home-reared children, $F(1,32) = 13.26$, $p < .001$. An interaction of rearing group × episode, $F(2,64) = 6.26$, $p < .005$, indicates that home-reared children were most wary of the stranger in episode 3 and became more accepting of her later on during separation episodes. In contrast, day-care children found the stranger increasingly aversive as the situation proceeded (Scheffé test, $p < .025$).

Differences in the children's responses to the two women who served chiefly as stranger were also examined. These differences tended to be quite small, and none was significant.

## Discussion

The above findings demonstrate that day-care children of both ages interacted less with their mothers across a distance before separation in episode 2 than did home-reared children. During separations they cried more and showed more oral behavior and avoidance of the stranger. Upon reunion with the mother, they exhibited more avoidant and resistant behaviors. However, the findings also indicate important age differences. Day-care 40-month-olds showed more heightening of attachment behaviors and more distress as a result of separation than did day-care 30-month-olds, whereas in the home-reared groups, the opposite age trend was found. The work of Maccoby and Feldman (1972) and Marvin (1972) indicates that the home-reared groups behaved in a manner typical of normal children of these ages. However, in comparison to the older home-reared children, children who began day care at 35 months of age explored less, were more distressed by separations, and sought more proximity to and contact with the mother upon reunion, although these bids were mixed with resistance and avoidance. In comparison to the younger home-reared children, children who began day-care at 25 months of age sought little proximity to or contact with the mother upon reunion but showed heightened proximity- and interaction-avoiding tendencies.

The finding of anxious ambivalent attachment behavior in the older day-care children and avoidant behavior in younger day-care children is consistent with age differences reported in children's responses to major separation. During major separation, it is also the younger children (age 1–2½) who are more likely to become detached and to respond to the mother with indifference upon reunion, whereas the older children (age 3–4) are less likely to consolidate detachment and more likely to respond to reunion with the mother in an anxious ambivalent fashion. Thus, the results of the present study suggest that many repetitions of minor separation may have effects similar in form (although not in severity) to major separations.

More recently, Ainsworth (1973) has reported that repetition of the strange-situation procedure after a 2-week interval sensitizes rather than habituates 1-year-olds to separation.

This finding also lends credence to the notion that the reunion behaviors of the day-care groups in the present study may be attributable to a sensitizing effect of daily separation.

It is generally acknowledged that detachment is a more serious outcome of major separation than anxious attachment, because as long as a child remains detached he is limited in his ability to form close interpersonal relationships. Anxious attachment, even if ambivalent, signifies that the child is capable of maintaining a close relationship, and indeed, under favorable conditions he may reestablish a more normal relationship. In the absence of longitudinal data, it is impossible to ascertain the significance for later development of either the anxious attachment observed in the older day-care group or the avoidant behavior observed in the younger day-care group. However, the possibility exists that the mother-avoiding tendencies of the younger children may signal a more substantial disturbance in the child-mother attachment—at least in the short term—than the anxious behavior of the older children, even though at first glance the younger children seem less overtly disturbed.

The finding that day-care children are also more avoidant of strangers than their home-reared peers runs counter to a "common sense" expectation that children who are exposed to a variety of adults would affiliate more readily with strangers than those reared within the more sheltered confines of the nuclear family. Nevertheless, this finding is congruent with those of Tizard and Tizard (1971), who found young children reared in residential nurseries more afraid of strangers than home-reared children, and those of Heinicke and Westheimer (1965), who found previously separated children highly fearful of persons they had seen months before during separations. It is possible that day-care children may react to a stranger's presence in an unfamiliar environment as a cue that separation from the mother is about to take place; or there may be a more general relationship between the anxiety versus security that a child experiences in his primary attachment relationship and the anxiety versus security he demonstrates in dealing with unfamiliar individuals.

The results of the present study are at variance with those of Caldwell et al. (1970), who found no differences between day-care and home-reared children on several behavioral measures purporting to relate to attachment. There are a number of factors which may account for this discrepancy. First, the staff of Caldwell's center may have provided care so highly individualized that the relationship with the substitute caregiver compensated for adverse reactions to separation from the mother. Second, children accustomed to group care from infancy (as Caldwell et al.'s sample was) may not experience the same overt disruption of the relationship with the mother as do children shifted from home care to day care at age 2 or 3. Third, Caldwell and her associates failed to distinguish between those who entered day care relatively early and relatively late. Had interactions between age and rearing group not been examined in the present study, no differences between day-care and home-reared children would have been found on manipulation of toys, search behavior, contact with the mother, or seeking of proximity.

For example, Caldwell et al. compared groups on strength of attachment, measured by the intensity of seeking proximity to the mother. Since the younger day-care children in the present study sought relatively little proximity whereas the older children sought much proximity, and since the opposite was true in the home-reared groups, day-care and home-reared children would have appeared equally "intensely" attached, if age differences had not been taken into account. On the other hand, the present study highlights resistant and avoidant behaviors as indicative of qualitative disturbances in attachment relationships. Absence of proximity seeking in reunion coupled with proximity avoiding is interpreted to reflect a reaction against ambivalence and anxiety rather than weak attachment. Hence, a failure on Caldwell et al.'s part to attend to the relationship between proximity seeking and negative behaviors and their tendency to focus chiefly on strength of proximity seeking may have obscured the effects so conspicuous in the present study.

It may be asked to what extent the results of this study can be attributed to separation rather than to differences which existed between day-care and home-reared groups prior to the day-care experience. The strange-situation procedure has been used previously to highlight differences between home-reared infants who had experienced relatively harmonious relationships with a sensitive mother and those who had experienced disturbed relationships with an insensitive mother. In the case of the present day-care group, there is no evidence that their mothers were any less sensitive or responsive to their children, when at home, than mothers of home-reared children. However, there is some evidence that the quality of the mother's personality (and hence presumably her mothering practices) can influence the intensity and duration of any adverse effects of substitute care (Moore 1964, 1969). Although the families of the day-care children fell well within the normal range, it is possible that they differed from families of home-reared children on more subtle dimensions, which may have interacted with the experience of day care to create disturbances in attachment.

Hence, further research should attempt to elucidate the relationship between the child's prior experiences and his reaction to day care. It may be that prior disturbed mother-child interaction, more general family instability, or previous experiences of separation, may exacerbate a child's reactions to daily separations. It is also possible that a close relationship with a responsive adult in a center may compensate greatly for separation from the mother, but if this substitute relationship is of such importance, then it becomes critical that children experience stability in their caregivers. In view of the present high turnover of day-care staff, this issue deserves immediate attention, as does the issue of whether alternative methods of care, such as family day care or part-time group care, are more suited to young children's needs than full-time group care. Whether or not research establishes immediate adverse effects, longitudinal studies of day-care children into adolescence are necessary to show that there are no "sleeper" effects. It is essential that research be designed to deal with day care as a separation experience as well as a multiple-mothering experience, and in this, the classical separation literature can serve as a guide to variables on which day-care and home-reared groups may be compared. It is not sufficient to compare groups on "strength" of attachment measures. Such measures may show that a child is attached to his mother, but they do not deal with the issue of whether day care can affect the security versus anxiety he experiences in this primary relationship.

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## STATEMENT OF FIVE WASHINGTON AREA CHILD PSYCHOANALYSTS ON S. 3617

We the undersigned constitute a group of child psychoanalysts who are especially concerned with the prevention of emotional disorders and impairments of human functioning which result from excessive emotional stresses early in life. We wish to express our support for the passage of Senate Bill 3617 (formally S. 3193 and S. 3228).

We laud the awareness in the bill of "quality services" as imperative to the support of the bill's goals (which we heartily endorse). There is considerable evidence that less than "quality services" would inflict both immediate and long range damage to the development and potential of vast numbers of children. Especially vulnerable are those children who are less than two years of age, or those who have had to contend with deficits in the supports from their parents and other factors in their environment on which children are critically dependent for healthy development.

We unequivocally approve the implementation of Federal programs of quality day care for the remedial and emergency use for developmentally handicapped and disadvantaged, neglected, and abused children of all ages.

We are unequivocally opposed to the general application of full scale, full day care for children in the general population. We also underscore that quality day care should be used as an adjunct to those services available or provided to the child and his family in the home and only when individual consideration has determined the specific need for day care in addition to the home-based services. Special caution is even further required for the prescription of full day care for children under two years of age.

We recommend that geographically distributed demonstration models of day care centers for children under two years of age be authorized to facilitate the further accumulation and dissemination of knowledge regarding infant selection, personnel training and caretaking procedures for this highly vulnerable age group.

As teachers and trainers of child development specialists, we support those measures in the bill which are designed to upgrade the quality of paraprofessional personnel to be involved in the various services to children and their families. However, we strongly recommend that the salary scales be increased as an essential means of insuring the availability of trainees and staff with the potential for quality performance.

Finally, we emphatically endorse the mother-infant relationship in the family home as the cornerstone for healthy development for the vast majority of children. We therefore especially commend those sections of the bill which support the mother's unique availability to her child. This can indeed allow the use of day care as a voluntary and selectively appropriate additional means of promoting healthy child development.

The undersigned appreciate this opportunity to express our views regarding this important legislation. We also wish to assure you of our continued interest and availability for consultation at any time in the future.

Respectfully submitted,

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# REASSESSING OUR EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES*

By

Burton L. White, Director
Preschool Project
Harvard Graduate School of Education

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*Transcript of an oral presentation to the Education Commission of the States Early Childhood Education Symposium held in Boston, Massachusetts, August 3-4, 1974.

# Reassessing Our Educational Priorities

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My purposes today are to inform you and attempt to influence you about a topic I think is of the highest priority in regard to national educational policy, our national resources, and last but far from least, the solidity of our young families. That topic is the róle of the family in the education of a young child, particularly during the first three years of life. My specialty is the study of what it takes to help each child make the most of whatever potential he brings into the world through the experiences of the first six years of life. That is my special role professionally and on the ECS Early Childhood Task Force. I believe that our current national educational policy is significantly flawed in this particular problem area; that we are wasting much of our most precious natural resource; that we are talking about the people of the next generation; and that we are allowing the quality of everyday life for many of our young families to be far more stressful and far less rewarding than it could be. A great number of our very best-put-together 25-year-old women have a miserable average day with two young children; very few people realize this, and the last ones to know are their husbands.

I have been conducting research on the early educational development of children for about 16 years now. When I say conducting research I do not mean every few weeks for an hour or two; I mean that is all I have been doing. Seventy-five per cent of my professional time has been on direct empirical research on this topic. I have come to some central conclusions that cry out for a new look at our national educational policy.

First of all, children start to learn long before our educational system begins to concern itself with them. Traditionally, in this country and in every other Western country where there has been any writing on the history of education, the society first puts money into the teaching job when the children get to be about six years of age. As far as I can find in writings, no society has ever put a lot of money into the first years of life. Yet, everybody knows that children are learning from the first day they come into the world. Although they do not usually learn to read, write, or cipher much before five or six years of age, they do start, or fail to start, to learn in more fundamental areas that seem to determine directly how well they will later learn to read, write, and cipher.

There are at least four fundamental learning topics that all children cope with before their third birthdays. These are not debatable points by the way.

*First of all, language development*. We have known for years that language growth starts and, in a large way, develops to a solid working capacity before the third birthday. Two- and three-month-old children do not process the meaning of words at all. At six, seven, and eight months, they begin to understand the meanings of a few selected words; not surprisingly, words such as their own name, Mommy, Daddy, kiss, and bottle. That initial vocabulary is reasonably well understood, I think. By the time they are three years of age, most children have the capacity to understand most of the language they will use in ordinary conversation for the rest of their lives. Language is at the heart of educational capacity. It has its own primary value, and in addition an instrumental value of direct relevance to all intellectual learnings; and subtly, but just as importantly, it underlies healthy social growth. Sociability in the first couple of years of life depends for its good development on some capacities in the language area, particularly when it comes to other children.

*The second major educational foundation that is undergoing development in this first three-year period is curiosity*. What could be more important to whether a child learns anything, not just about academic subjects, but about the world at large, about what makes people tick, about how to become a good listener, than simple curiosity. It is the birthright of every child, with a few exceptions; the badly damaged children for example, may have less of it. But even if a child comes from a miserable home and is beaten regularly, it is very difficult to stamp out strong, basic, simple, pure curiosity in the first eight or nine months of life. It is, unfortunately, not that difficult to stamp it out in the next year or two or, if not stamp it out, suppress it dramatically or move it over into peculiar aberrant patterns. For example, the two-year-old who looks at a new toy and unlike other two-year-olds only sizes it up to see how he can use it to badger his mother. That is not sheer, unqualified curiosity. That can be very tough on a young mother, by the way.

Third major point -- social development. In the last five or six years we have begun to apply a little more serious attention to the value of social goals for our educational system, although we are still kind of limping along in this area. For years we have had soft-hearted early education people saying a child is more than a brain, but very few people have listened to them because most of them do not have doctorates and most of them are not rhetorical. I personally believe (and I think I have a lot of research evidence to support it) that the social skills that develop in the first preschool years are every bit as important, every bit as instrumental, to the intellectual success of a student, for example, as the directly intellectual skills. In addition, I think a lot of people in this country would be happier if the children we produced were not only bright but were people with whom they liked to live.

We are pretty clear now on the details of social development: we know that human infants will not survive without some sort of strong, protective attachment to an older, more mature, more capable human. And, God or somebody else built into the creature a collection of attributes, tools actually, that help in the cementing of a relationship to somebody. For instance, that early social smile of the three-month-old is not reserved for any particular person. It looks as if the child is using it on everyone who happens by. It is as if the species had a kind of first-stage guarantee of attractiveness. The three- and four-month-old child is an incredibly attractive, nice-to-live-with creature. He starts to giggle and becomes ticklish for the first time, and he is given to euphoria a great deal. Now, that is fun, and the photographers like it a great deal; but, I think there is a more serious species survival virtue to this particular kind of phenomenon.

Then, between eight months and twenty-four months or so, one of the most gorgeous experiences you will ever see takes place; children establish a relationship, usually with the mother, because most of our children are still being brought up in homes by their own families. That is an incredibly complicated experience, making most contracts pale in simplicity in comparison to it. They learn thousands of things about what they can and cannot do in their home, what they can and cannot do in interactions with the primary caretaker, about how to read the primary caretaker's different mood states, and an incredible number of other things. After all, they have got relatively little in the way of important obligations other than just enjoying themselves, and one of the few really overpowering interests of the child eight to twenty-four months of age is that other key figure.

We have seen children at age two who are marvelous people to live with; they are free and easy; they are comfortable with their parents; and they have gone by the negativism of the second year pretty well. They can play alone well. They are just a delight. On the other hand, how many times have you heard a mother of a two-year-old say he does not play well alone? That is synonymous for, "He is hanging onto my skirt or my slacks or my leg hairs all day long." That situation can be very rough, especially if there is another child eight months of age, crawling around in the home. When we see a child for the first time at two years of age, it is too late. They are crystallized into their basic social patterns; and, we see those social patterns applied to all social encounters in the next year or two to other children who come into the home, to older siblings, and to other adults. A human personality is being formed during those first two years, and there is no job more important than doing that well.

Over and above that primal social development, we have the fourth fundamental learning area, the foundations of cognitive intelligence. There are all sorts of problems children cannot solve in the first two or three years of life, but they are learning the tools of the trade, and this process is beautifully and brilliantly explained, in detail, in the work of Jean Piaget, the Swiss student of the growth of intelligence. From the very first years, children are very much interested in cause-and-effect relationships, in learning about simple mechanisms, such as flipping light switches on and off to see the consequences, and jack-in-the-boxes. Such events are trivial little things on the surface but they indicate a very deep interest in how things work and in the various characteristics of physical objects. After all, these children have not had a chance to examine many things first hand, and most things therefore are new to them.

These four topic areas are, I submit, the foundations of educational capacity. I will repeat them: language development, curiosity, social development, and the roots of intelligence. They are all undergoing basic formative development in the first three years of life, and the national educational system essentially ignores that fact. These fundamental learnings do not always go well. Indeed, there is reason to believe that failures in these learnings in the first years lead directly to underachievement in the elementary grades and beyond. We are getting there after the horse has left the barn. Secondly, poor results or failures in the first years are extremely difficult to correct, using any means we now have available. I will repeat that because it is a very strong statement, and I think I can support it: Poor results or failures in the first three years are extremely difficult to correct using any means now available, whether it is $10,000 a year spent in a private tutoring situation, a Head Start, a Follow Through or a Special Education program. Thirdly, relatively few of our children, regardless of the type of family that raises them -- that includes your families and mine, your grandchildren and mine -- get as much out of the education of the first years as they might. We are probably wasting substantial amounts of our most precious resource, the developed competencies of each new generation.

Can I back up these claims, or am I just another in a long list of educational sensationalists?

Point 1. Children who enter the first grade significantly behind their peers are not likely to ever catch up. There are exceptions, but the norm is that they fall further behind. This has been recognized educationally for a long time. Let me tell you a little story about the origination of the Brookline Early Education Project. The Superintendent of Schools in Brookline, Massachusetts, who is a very smart and vigorous fellow, called me one day and said, "I have been reading things like Benjamin Bloom's statement that most of intelligence is already developed by the time the child is eight, and that half of it is in by four. I put that idea together with the experience we have in our school system [where, by the way, next year they have budgeted for each child at the high school level, $2,490, and $1,930 and change for the elementary levels]. I think I have a pretty good school system," he went on. "But, I know that when I get a child in the first grade who already looks weak I cannot do much for him, even though I have one of the best special education programs in the country."

As a reasonable man, he is driven to the consideration of the topic of prevention. He has no choice. In fact, it is the same reasoning that led to the creation of Head Start. But here is a person who has no excuses, he has first-rate people; he has more money than God, and he still cannot do the job. He said, "I want to recommend that all kids get into our schools at age four. What do you think of that as a good way to get into this problem?" I said, "That is a dumb idea." He said, "What do you mean? People have been telling me that public kindergarten is a great thing for all these years." I said, "Look, don't spend all your money on an expensive kindergarten program. Half or more of your kids are not going to get much out of it educationally, in my opinion. Take a look at what is going on in the first six years, not just in the fifth year. Try to get at the origin of educational deficits; try to prevent them, and try to help earlier in the game." And so we built the Brookline program.

Point 2. The country has been working on prevention in a very substantial way for nine years now. Head Start's original central purpose, I remind you, was to prevent educational failure. It has had lots of other purposes growing in emphasis in the last four or five years; that is, better early health care, better health, and better social and emotional development. But do not forget that the original rhetoric that sold it was to try to prevent educational failure. That has been its core purpose. It has had a budget (most of you know) of several hundred million dollars a year for these nine years, and it has been politically powerful. It has concentrated on the three- to five-year age period. There are two conclusions I think can be easily drawn from the Head Start experience (so far) that are appropriate to this discussion: (1) It does not often succeed in its prime goal, no matter what somebody working in a center tells you. The best objective evaluation of Head Start is that by and large, by itself, it has not had much success in preventing educational failure in the elementary grades. (2) Perhaps even more important, serious deficits for many children are usually already visible at three years of age.

Point 3. To these facts, should be added a third, except for the fewer than 5% of our children born with serious defects or subjected to extreme abuse during the first year of life, serious educational deficits are not usually seen before a year-and-one-half of age. This point comes out of the educational and psychological research literature. Those same thousand children who are going to give you fits in the third grade look fine at age one.

Point 4. Educational failure begins to show itself toward the end of the second year of life. It is often very reliably detected at three years of age and nearly always detectable well before the first grade. Furthermore, educational underachievement by children who look average or slightly above average is quite likely, but it has not really been investigated in a serious way as yet. After all, the emergency situation, as always, comes first.

What causes low achievement levels in children? Can we as educators do anything about this problem or are genetics, for example, at the root of the problem? The question is a very complicated one, and I cannot deal with it elaborately here. But I will summarize my position on the issue for you. We have no conclusive evidence as yet as to how much achievement is due to heredity and how much is due to environment. We have fragments of evidence, but nothing like the weight of evidence you would need to resolve that issue on a scientific basis. My personal judgment is simply that both heredity and environment obviously play a role. Heredity certainly sets upper limits to development, but by itself it does not guarantee that those limits will be reached. If a child has serious brain damage, no matter how you work on his early education, he is never going to achieve the levels that an intact, well-educated child will. But if a child comes into the world with great genes, he is not going to make the most of that potential irrespective of what happens to him subsequently. By controlling his experiences, I can prevent any child in the world from learning to talk, and I can prevent him from acquiring any of his skills; of course those are just the extreme cases. But my point is that so far we really have not thoroughly understood what it takes to help each child make the most of the potential he has. We have no right to assume that, by one way or another, children are doing that. In fact, we have plenty of evidence that suggests that they are not. I have done more direct research on the role of experience in early development than all but a handful of people in the country, and I am convinced of the power and relevance of early experiences in this area. Certainly until we have definitive evidence to the contrary, the most sensible policy is to assume that early experience makes important differences and to do everything we can to make such experiences as beneficial as possible.

For now, let me point out that there seem to be at least three major obstacles that families face in doing the best job of educating their young children. Let me digress for just a moment here. I very much enjoyed Jessie Sargent's remarks, at this symposium, particularly about the wasting of resources and the need for public education, which I underline. She did, however, refer to developmental day care and its costs in a way that I think may tend to mislead slightly. First of all, developmental day care, as far as I know, generally costs more than $2,000 per year. You will hear more about what it costs in later portions of this symposium. Three thousand dollars, I think is a better average price, and it could go higher. I agree with Mrs. Sargent that this country is not going to make that kind of money available in the near future for all the children who ought to have it or who need it. But more importantly, I think there has been a kind of assumption in the minds of some people that the way children get educated is through contact with a professional in a classroom or a center. I do not think that is the way it is going to happen, and I do not think that is the way it should happen. I think the way it is going to happen is through the family as the first educational delivery system, rather than through a developmental day care center.

The three major obstacles that I see families coping with in trying to do the best they can for their children are:

First of all, ignorance: they do not know how to do the job. They do not know, for example, about the poison-control data that says that most of our reported poisonings in childhood take place between ten and thirty months of age. More importantly, they do not know the following reasons why such poisonings take place between ten and thirty months of age; (1) they do not know that babies in that age range are incredibly curious, (2) babies are inclined to use the mouth as an exploring organ, and (3) babies are unsophisticated about labels that have warnings on them, and so forth.

Parents do not know the story of social development. They do not know, for example, that to be a nine-month-old only child means to live in a world that is full of happiness, sweetness, pleasant interpersonal relations. On the other hand, to have an older sibling at home who is two, almost invariably means being on the receiving end of genuine hatred from time to time.

That sounds funny, but boy I'll tell you, it is a sad thing to watch a nine- or ten-month-old baby, when his mother is not looking, trying to put up with the real physical threats of a two- or two-and-one-half-year-old child who had previously thought the whole world was built for him. Now he has to share it with this creature who is into his toys, who seems to have first place in his mother's affections, and so forth. It is painful for everybody. The older child is having a very tough time. The younger one is having a tough time and may be experiencing things that I do not think anyone should have to experience, if they could avoid it. The mother may be having the worst time of all. Some women spend the whole day trying to control two such children, trying to avoid the destruction of the baby; and, the father comes home at night and wonders why the mother is tired. The simple fact is we do not prepare or assist people for this job. As long as you can mate, you are eligible to have a child and the responsibilities that go along with it. That is absolutely crazy.

The second major obstacle for parents is stress. The eight- to twenty-four-month period is not only educationally critical (in my opinion) but it is also one of the most dangerous periods in life. I would guess that there is no period of life that is more dangerous in terms of maimings and accidental deaths. For example, an eight-month-old child who, for the previous three months or so, has had mature visual and auditory capacities, but has not been able to move his body anywhere, move him to an upright posture and he can see out into the room. It is a new world for him. No matter how poor it is, it is all new to him; and, somehow or other his species requires that he learn as much as he can during his early developmental years. Think of how much curiosity is building up inside that mind. Then, bang, all of a sudden he discovers he can get from here to there; and he goes. It is a very rare child who does not go. Children at this age are very much like puppies, kittens, even young horses I have been told, in their pure, unadorned curiosity. It is necessary for the species. They go, but they do not know anything at all about the world. They do not know that if you lean on something that is very spindly, it will fall; they do not know that those beautiful rose-colored shards of glass from a broken vase are dangerous. Everything looks interesting, and one of the prime ways in which they explore something firsthand is to immediately put it to their mouth. They are very impulsive at that age. They do not stop to smell, to savor, or to sip; they just bring an item quickly to the mouth.

We have to tell parents about these things. Why should they learn these things after they go to the pediatrician to have their child's stomach pumped? And, these are not controversial matters. There is a lot of controversy in this field about some topics such as: how you should rear children, whether you should teach them to read at nine months, and whether you should be stroking their limbs at four months for "tactile stimulation." There is a lot of literature and controversy in that area, but there isn't any about safety.

Every family should know how to safety-proof a home for the child's first crawling efforts. Every family should know that a baby starts to climb at about eight or nine months of age. He can generally only climb six or seven inches at that point, but by the time he is a year old he will be able to climb units of twelve to fourteen inches; which means that he can climb almost anything in a room. That sequence has very powerful everyday consequences for a family. It should be common knowledge. Why is learning to drive a car so much more important than learning how to parent a child? Does the high school curriculum have room for driver education and no room for these topics?

Not only are the first years a dangerous period of life, but they mean extra work. The child crawling around the home makes a mess and if the husband likes a neat home, that adds to the stress. In addition, if there is an older sibling who is less than three years older than the child, it is quite normal to have significant resentment on the part of the older child, and that also adds to the stress on the mother. Furthermore, when the child gets to be sixteen or seventeen months of age he starts testing his power with his mother. That is quite routine; everybody goes through it, or virtually everybody. Some people find this very tough to take. So, there is a lot of stress involved in raising a young child, and raising two or three closely spaced ones creates almost an intolerable amount. Sometimes it is not tolerated, and women crack up and marriages crack up.

Third obstacle: lack of assistance. Mother usually faces this job alone.

The three obstacles I see through our research are: (1) Ignorance, they are not prepared for the job, they are not knowledgeable, indeed there is a great deal of misinformation around; (2) stress; and (3) lack of assistance. That is a pretty tough collection of obstacles to get through.

If there is a role for education, what is it? First of all, we have to accept the fact that professional educators, working directly with children, especially children over six years of age, have much less influence on development than was previously thought. This is, by the way, the major implication of the 1966 report by James Coleman on Equality of Educational Opportunity. Lots of threads of evidence are contributing to the notion that professional education after the child is six very often just does not have the clout that so many parents in this country seem to believe it has, and that so many professional educators somehow assume that they have.

I remember a poignant story about a teacher in PS 201 in the heart of New York about six or seven years ago describing his classroom, a third grade classroom. He said that at no time could he count on more than 30% of the children to be in their seats, and at no time could he count on more than half of them to even be in the room. And he said, "Somehow or other, I am not doing well in that class." And I said, "How on earth can you expect to do well in that class?" I think teachers have been taking a terribly bad rap in this country. Educating a child is a partnership between the family and the professional educator. I think the senior partner is the family.

The second thing educators must do is recognize that the family is ordinarily the first educational delivery system for the child, and accept and face the consequences of that fact, seriously.

Third, we should prepare and assist the family for that fundamental educational job. How do we prepare and assist the family to give the child a solid educational foundation? Here are several suggestions:

1. Long before the child is born, we should teach each and every prospective parent all the known and accepted fundamentals about educational development in the first years of life.

How do we do this? I would suggest first through required courses in the high schools and secondly through public television. I would also suggest that neither of these vehicles costs a great deal. We might perhaps delete the geography of India for a year or for one semester.

2. Just before the baby is born, and soon after the baby is born, is a special time. A lot of parents are traumatized. They suddenly come face to face with the reality

that they have the responsibility for this fragile little thing and they do not know what they are going to do. That can be very tough. I have had lots of young parents express that fear spontaneously to me.

Suggestion: Teach each and every parent that you missed the first time around the same information, and routinely provide refresher information to the remainder.

How? Offer adult education courses, year in and year out, for pregnant women and their husbands. Perhaps provide video-cassette or filmed mini-courses in hospitals during the lying-in period. That is being done in Hawaii by the way. Most of these things are being done somewhere in the country. Provide high-quality public television material on a continuous basis. There is no reason why it cannot be done. I am involved in a commercial television program at present on which I talk about educating an infant. It works well. The viewing audience is dedicated; they watch that program like hawks. If I say something is wrong, they are right on it. You can do it and you can also make it fun.

In addition, just before or soon after the child is born, provide a low-cost education early detection and referral service to every family, with a promise that if a family participates, their children will not go through the preschool years with an undetected educational handicap. You can make that promise and you can deliver on it for about $200 per year for a child. We are running such a service on a pilot basis at the Brookline Early Education Project. I think it is a much smarter investment than public kindergarten for everyone.

3. For the first six years of a child's life, especially the first three, I suggest the following: make available continuing, low pressure, strictly voluntary training for parents.

How? Through resource centers and a home visiting program. I am talking, you will notice, about working through the family, not bypassing it and going directly to the child. Provide for monitoring educational development as an extension of that early detection and referral system, again through medical, psychological and educational teamwork in resource centers, for about $200 a year.

Provide general assistance for parenting, again with a focus on education, in the following ways: Lend materials like toys and books out of your resource center. Have films and pamphlets available. Have professionals available to talk with parents once in a while. Have other parents available so that people can talk to each other about their frustrations and their joys.

Provide free babysitting for psychological relief for parents. I am not talking about day care; but, about a few hours a week when a mother can just leave her child, without guilt, and just get away. Can each of you men in the audience envision being in the position where you have total responsibility for the welfare of a one-year-old and a three-year-old twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week? It is hard to appreciate what that means until you have been put in that spot. One of the underlying frustrations of young mothers is that they cannot explain the experience very well to their husbands.

4. Provide referral service for special needs, an ombudsman function.

How do you do it? Through neighborhood resource centers. By the way, the home visiting part of all this, especially for families who want it and who have a little more difficulty with their children and fewer resources, again does not have to be a frightfully expensive affair. We find that if you go very often to a home (more than every two or three weeks) it gets uncomfortable. There is not enough to do for most families so if you go for an hour or two every six, seven, or eight weeks we guess that is plenty. That kind of program is nowhere near as expensive as running a conventional center; nothing like it.

5. Provide remedial assistance as soon as possible. If your early detection program finds a borderline hearing difficulty in a six-month-old-child, we can do something about that today. It is scandalous for this country to continue to let some fraction of our children go through primary language

acquisition with untreated, unnoticed hearing deficits. You can do the screening examination for $15 or so and the occasional higher level diagnosis will cost you $50 to $75, but what an investment.

I think it is fair to say that the entire task force of the ECS Early Childhood Project agrees with the general desirability of strengthening the family for its role as the child's first educational delivery system. Exactly how far to go in terms of dollars per year, of course, is not fully agreed upon. I suggested to you that for an expenditure of perhaps $300 or $400 per year we probably could do the bulk of what needs doing on this topic for most families; however, not to the very special need families, they are a much more expensive proposition. Exactly which ideas to use, again, are not fully agreed upon; but, I submit to you that there is a core of fundamental information about safety, social development, and motor development that most people do agree on, and that such information could be very, very useful to young families. Much needed assistance is feasible today. You could spend $1,000 a year for an average family, but I think you could do it quite nicely for $400 or $500. There just is not a better way to spend that money than to invest in improving the quality of our earliest educational systems.

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Revised June, 1975

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## THE DAYTIME CARE OF YOUNG CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS WANT OUTSIDE JOBS

BY BENJAMIN SPOCK, M. D.

I'll make several side comments before getting to the topic of this section.

I hope there will continue to be mothers - and that there will increasingly be fathers - who will be happy to make their careers primarily in child and home care (perhaps combined with community service or with serious participation in arts and crafts), and who will be financially able to do so because either father or mother is making a sufficient income.

I feel that a career in the home and neighborhood can be just as fulfilling for many individuals, and just as productive for society, as a career in designing advertisements or being an officer in a bank. More people would think so, I believe, if our society did not put such a high premium on job prestige and income, and if women's work in child and home care in the past had not been considered inferior to men's jobs.

I myself believe that the government should pay a salary to parents to the extent that one or the other is at home to care for their preschool children. This is not because good parents aren't happy to do it for love. It's because parents who feel they must have two pay checks to support their family should not have to turn over the care of their children to others when they'd rather do it between themselves. It's even more important that single parents (divorced or widowed) who want to care for their own children not be compelled to go to work outside by the need to earn a decent living.

When both parents want continuous careers and they also want children, what are the possible arrangements? I don't see an ideal solution at present that has wide application. There are compromises available currently which are fairly statisfactory for many couples. I'll mention some eventual solutions that would be a lot better.

Fortunate is the family that can turn for a substitute to a willing and reliable relative of whose child-rearing methods the mother and father approve. These conditions are more often met nowadays in certain groups in the population that still have old-fashioned traditions about relatives' living close together, making a great effort to get along together, and helping one another out. In such groups the methods of rearing children are not as likely to keep changing in accord with new scientific doctrines, so the parents know just how a grandmother will be caring for the child and approve of her. In fact, the grandmother is apt to be considered a great expert by the young parents in such groups. A grandmother can be counted on to cherish her grandchild as much as she cherished her own child. If appreciated, she is much more likely to stick to the job than a hired person. Sometimes, in close-knit families, an aunt can take over a child's care.

However, the commoner pattern in America - especially in college-educated families - is quite different. The father expects to go anywhere for the right job, and this usually takes his family far from where his and his wife's families live. Even when the young couple live in the old home town, they often do not have confidence that the grandmother's methods are up to date;

also the grandmother is less often willing to settle down to another decade of child rearing. Certainly when relatives are available and willing, working parents should consider them first of all and make an effort to be tolerant of their methods.

The most usual compromise is when father and mother-perhaps with the help of a live-in or live-out sitter - dovetail their schedules so that the parents between them can care for the child for a good part of the child's waking hours. (The child's waking hours increase with age; but even a three or four year old will nap for an hour or two after lunch if encouraged.) For example, the mother is a schoolteacher who can get off at 3:30 P.M., the father is a salesman who can postpone going to work until mid-morning, and a sitter or sitter-housekeeper fills in between. Or the mother is a nurse with three possible shifts to choose from and the father is a student who has considerable freedom in arranging his classes. In some occupations - medicine, nursing, social work, psychology - which have been chronically shorthanded and in which employers therefore have a strong motive to accommodate workers, mothers and fathers have been able to arrange to work certain days or half-days of the week and to take other days or half-days off. Parents, by organized effort, should eventually be able to pressure other employers into providing flexible part-time work patterns; or to pressure legislatures to pass laws requiring employers to offer jobs on a less than eight-hour-day, forty-hour-per-week basis, for those who need them.

We shouldn't assume that the eight-hour workday will continue forever. It's said that automation, aided by the demands of labor, will progressively shorten the workday - to six hours and later to four hours. Then it would be a lot easier for father and mother to dovetail their work and their child care.

As for the sitter or care-giver, the problem, of course, is to find a satisfactory person. The isolation involved in child care and domestic work doesn't appeal to many people when it's not their own child or home - at least not in America. There's no prestige involved in the care of normal children here.

Furthermore, the woman who loves children is apt to soon get married and have a child of her own.

In engaging a person who will be at home with the child all day, it is of the utmost importance that the care-giver be a person of whose character and approach the parents thoroughly approve and one who is likely to stay. These crucial questions can't be answered in a hurry and parents should not rush off to work - whatever the excuse about the job's not waiting - until they are convinced.

During the first interview the parents can see how the care-giver approaches the child and how the child responds. If the parents engage her, it should be for a trial period of a week or two. The father or mother should stay at home during this period and watch the mutual reactions of the two as the substitute gradually takes over. In this way too the parent maintains the child's security until the child develops enough familiarity and trust in the care-giver.

Before I go any further I should interject that of course I don't mean that parents have to worry about the perfection of character of everyone who has regular contact with a small child. If the parents take a good portion of the care of their child, they will be the main influence on character. It is good for children's personalities to become acquainted with a variety of people - relatives, neighbors of all ages, storekeepers. They will enrich children's personalities.

I would call it unimportant if a potential care-giver has an accent or uses ungrammatical English or is somewhat messy, lazy, or forgetful. The important questions are whether the person likes children and can control them easily. I wouldn't touch a person who seemed at all mean, threatening, dominating, or teasing.

Family day care is an alternative to engaging a sitter. It is usually easier to find another family in the community that will take a child into their home during the day, than to find someone to care for the child in the child's own home-and less expensive. Next in importance to the satisfactory personalities of such a care giver would be that she have not more than four young children to care for, because infants and very young children don't do well on a skimpy amount of attention even when the care giver is kindly.

The safest way in a city to find a family that will take a small child into their home is through a children's or family-and-children's social agency that, as part of its professional services, recruits, selects, and supervises homes for family day care of this type. If there is no such agency in a smaller town, parents should make careful inquiries and then observe for themselves. Their child should be introduced gradually to the other home, and they themselves should spend several days visiting it with their child to bridge the transition. This should give the parents the opportunity to learn whether they and the care giver see eye to eye.

Resourceful parents in some communities have themselves organized their own family day care units - or a small network of units. To counteract the lonely isolation of the care giver, they've experimented with two care givers in one home, with up to eight children to care for. In other places they've used, for a network of units, one additional care giver who rotates each day to a different home to help the regular person, and who is available to substitute if the regular person in a home has to be away.

Now I'll mention larger groups - nursery schools, day care centers, day nurseries and "baby farms" - focusing on the problems of the care of the child under 2 or 3 years, for whom love, encouragement and continuity are so important. I say "2 or 3 years" because some children are able to get along comfortably in a fairly large group ( 8 or 10 ) and to be not too dependent on a care giver when only a little over 2 years, whereas others don't have this maturity until nearly 3 years.

First some definitions. The term nursery school has usually meant/a school for children two or three to five years old, conducted by professionally trained teachers, from 9:00 A.M. to noon or to 3:00 P.M. most commonly supported by parents' fees.

The term *day-care center* is more recent; it means all-day facilities for the care of children of working parents, conducted cooperatively by trained teachers and untrained people from the community, usually supported in part by government funds. The age range is commonly two or three to six years; a few centers may take children under two years, and also children over six years, from the hour when elementary school lets out until parents can pick them up after work.

The term *nursery* or *day nursery* is over a hundred years old and has usually meant untrained care of children of working mothers from birth to elementary school age, often supported by charitable organizations. Most day nurseries that have existed in the last one hundred years in the United States have cared for the babies and small children of mothers who were compelled to work (usually, before the days of welfare payments, because they had been widowed or deserted.) These nurseries suffered from multiple handicaps. Staff was inadequate in number, in training, and in maternal temperament, and the babies frequently lay isolated and deserted in their cribs. Children over the age of one had few constructive playthings or activities and received too little attention and affection. Some mothers who took them home at night were so demoralized by their own bitter life experiences that they could not provide much visible affection or even attention. Many of these deprived children made poor records in school and in life. And nurseries got a bad reputation with child-care professionals.

Old-fashioned, custodial day nurseries are still licensed in some cities. In addition there are numberless unlicensed, unsupervised "baby farms," run for profit by "a woman down the street" to which working mothers bring their children and which are not detected unless a city has a vigilant inspection system.

Hasn't nursery care from birth onward proved satisfactory for children of working parents in the Soviet Union, and in

Israel's kibbutzim?* In a general way they have satisfied the child care authorities in both countries. They have been amply staffed with selected, trained attendants. But the results of group care in the crucial first three years have not yet been proved excellent enough to overcome the skepticism of professional people like myself who have high aspirations for our children and who have anti-group-care prejudices left over from the past. And the situation regarding the recruitment of nursery attendants in the United States is not nearly as satisfactory as it is in Israel and the Soviet Union.

The group upbringing in the kibbutz has produced a noticeably different personality type. The older intellectual settlers from Europe were most commonly described as philosophical, imaginative, sociable people with a worldly, self-deprecating sense of humor and strong possessive and dependent ties to relatives. Their kibbutz-raised child or grandchild is more apt to be a matter-of-fact, highly practical, cooperative, and dutybound citizen, often hard to get to know, in some cases even curt to strangers.

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*The kibbutzim (plural of kibbutz) are agricultural collective communities in which both parents work and the children are cared for in nurseries, in kindergartens, and in schools in which they stay except for visits to the parents in the evenings and on the Sabbath.

School achievement test results of children raised in the kibbutzim tend to be concentrated in the middle zone of the range for Israel. Of the Israeli children raised in their own homes, a greater proportion are either in the high or low zones, depending on the quality of the home atmosphere. In my opinion, the close emotional ties such as are supplied by an all-round good family provide the strongest stimulus to mental and emotional development for children under 2 or 3 years.

I don't have such specific data from the Soviet Union, but I do know that Soviet educational and psychological authorities in the past expressed great pride in their day nurseries and boarding institutions for infants and young children. I think it is significant that they now are emphasizing the contribution of family relationships in the development of sound personalities and admitting that those children raised in boarding institutions run the risk of "deprivation of psychological stimulation" and of "one-sided or retarded development."

Soviet authorities also are discussing the need to go beyond, or even to reverse, their educational system's previous primary emphasis on creating the duty-oriented citizen. They stress instead the need to foster the unique potentialities of the individual so that he may be able to make "original or even revolutionary contributions" to the society. I, with my beliefs, interpret these statements to mean that the Soviet authorities realize that they have been producing some drones with their group care in the first 2 or 3 years.

In Israel and the Soviet Union the nursery care of babies and young children so that both parents can work is considered patriotic and dignified work by young women. In the United States such nonprofessional care carries no prestige. As a result it is difficult to recruit suitable people here.

So I am saying that the proposals to place babies and children under two years of age in day care centers in the United States raise serious questions in the minds of people like myself. The expense would be high. Even if we could set up high-quality programs and recruit adequate attendants who would serve for years, providing children with real substitute mothers, we might produce average children. But I doubt that most of the young idealists who propose day care from birth would really be satisfied with average children.

## ADDRESS BY DR. SILVIA BELL

Assistant Chief of Psychiatry

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### Mother-child cooperation and the development of the healthy individual: implications for day-care.

(An invited address to the meeting of the Maryland Committee for the Day Care of Children, Inc. held at Towson State College on April 26, 1972.)

Since 1965 I have been involved in the study of early childhood. My research has focused on the analysis of both emotional and cognitive aspects of development in the first three years of life. I have been primarily concerned with the effect of environmental factors on the process of growth, and with the identification of the specific aspects of a child's surroundings that both foster and impede his progress. This work has not yet lead me to the study of children in a day-care setting, and thus I cannot address myself specifically to the consequences of day care on development. However, I have gained much information from the observation of young children with their mothers which is essential for the planning of the best possible day-care environment.

In the last two decades our understanding of children has undergone a change of revolutionary proportions. A child's development is no longer conceived to proceed "from within" as a function of a maturational time-table, which unfolds at an even rate irrespective of the opportunities for growth which the environment affords. Studies involving animals and humans have conclusively indicated that development is determined neither by genetic make-up nor by environmental circumstance alone;rather, it is the result of an interaction between these two sources of variability. From the first days of life, a child is an active organism and his abilities develop as he explores his environment. In the same way in which the child needs nourishment to survive, his mental structures need the kind of nourishment provided by the opportunity to exercise and practice the behaviors which are part of his repertoire. A child who is ready to smile or vocalize needs a figure who is able and willing to respond to his advances in order for his own behavior to acquire a meaning for him, and in order for him to have an interest in increasing the amount and expanding the type of signals he produces.

The findings of my research to date have indicated that the most important factor in the healthy emotional and cognitive growth of the child is the quality of his relationship with his mother. Infants and young children who showed the greatest competence and effectiveness in exploring, and who had the best performance on tests of cognitive development were the same who showed a secure attachment to the mother and who had experienced a harmonious relationship with her in the course of the first years of life.

Whereas the notion that the mother-child relationship can influence emotional development is undisputed, the suggestion that it also plays a major role in the development of intellectual functioning has not been properly evaluated until recently. I would like to concentrate on this issue today, and share with you the findings of three research projects which lend conclusive proof of the importance of this relationship, and which have highlighted those characteristics of maternal handling that help the child to fulfill his potential.

The first is a study of infant crying in the first year of life. Most mothers have at one time or another wondered about whether or not they should respond to their baby's cry, for fear that going to him and picking him up would represent giving in to his will and encourage more crying. Despite the pronouncements of so-called experts, no observations of mothers and infants had been made to lend support to this notion.

The subjects participating in this study were a group of 26 infants with their mothers who were observed at home, every three weeks, for a period of four hours. The infats were followed from birth until the end of the first year of life. Each instance of crying by the baby and the response produced by the mother was noted, since we wanted to determine whether a mother's responsiveness to the cry would result in increased crying later on.

Crying is often thought of as a constitutional characteristic. Babies who cry frequently, for example, are often considered by their parents to be more irritable by nature in comparison to other babies. While this may be true in a few cases, and it is certain that there are constitutional differences in alertness and irritability which differentiate among babies in the very early days of life, our study showed that there is no stability of crying throughout the first year--that is, babies who cry a lot in the first months of life are not necessarily the same who cry a great deal by the end of the first year. This does not support the view that crying is caused by constitutional irritability. Careful study of the interaction between infant crying characteristics and the mother's responsiveness showed that from the beginning of the first year maternal ignoring results in increased crying later on. Those mothers in our sample who frequently ignored the baby's cries, sometimes under the guise of trying to train him not to be demanding, sometimes because they were just too busy to attend to him when he needed it, had babies who learned to cry with much greater insistence by the end of the first year of life than they had in the beginning of life. In contrast, those mothers who were responsive, who went to the baby and picked him up in response to the cry and who tended to respond promptly and consistently to him, had babies who cried very little by the age of one year. Their children tended, instead, to communicate through signals other than crying, and had a more varied repertoire of gestures, facial expressions and words through which they could make their wishes known to the mother.

There is good reason to believe from this study that those mothers who responded to the infant's cry were the same who generally responded to his non-crying signals as well. Thus, one can conclude that a mother's responsiveness to all of the baby's signals, including crying, will foster the development of a variety of communicative behaviors that are easy to read, and hence represent a more advanced from of communication with others.

Mother and infant form an interactional dyad: the more responsive the mother, the greater the likelihood that crying will decrease over the first year and that other communicative signals will become operative. This is associated, in turn, with the continuing tendency of mother to respond promptly. The likely outcome is truly adaptive in that, eventually, the child comes to reserve crying for the more alarming conditions, and signals less intensely at other times.

This is one part of the evidence I wish to present today in support of the position that maternal behavior plays an essential role in the development of infant competence. The remainder of the evidence stems from two separate studies which I have conducted, one with a group of middle-class and the other with a group of socioeconomically disadvantaged mohter-infant pairs. I was interested specifically in determining how maternal behavior affects intellectual development and the child's ability to explore and learn from the physical environment.

The two groups of infants in these studies were seen repeatedly with their mothers during the first three years of life. Several cognitive tests were administered to each child, and each mother was observed extensively as she played with her child, interacted with him and taught him a few simple tasks. The findings showed that the two most important variables to affect I.Q. and general cognitive growth were a harmonious, cooperative infant-moter relationship and the amount of time the children were allowed to explore their environment freely while on the floor. Parental education, in contrast, and economic position, were not related to I.Q. in the first two years of life. Infants who had a harmonious relationship with the mother not only had superior performance on the various tests, but explored more toys during the observation, and had more varied behaviors through which to explore the toys than did babies who did not have a harmonious relationship with the mother. A harmonious, cooperative quality in the relationship between mother and child was the outcome primarily of the mother's sensitivity to the child's signals. Those mothers who responded promptly and appropriately to the child, thus who were sensitive by our definition, had infants who displayed greater competence in exploration and a more advanced level of cognitive development.

Detailed analyses of the data of this study indicated that two characteristics of maternal care are essential to the development of the child. In the first eight months to one year of life, infant competence is associated to maternal sensitivity. The mother's ability and willingness to perceive the baby's signals accurately and to respond to them promptly and appropriately were the most important factors in the child's environment to foster development--factors which far outweighed in importance all the physical environmental characteristics which psychologists and sociologists measure when they are trying to determine whether a child lives in an enriched or impoverished environment. Infants from socioeconomically disadvantaged environment were not infarior in their level of development to infants raised in a middle-class home when they all had experienced the harmonoius relationship with the mother described above. Infants from middle-class homes who were not fortunate to have this kind of relationship with their mothers--that is, whose mothers were insensitive, ignoring, neglecting or interfering--were substantially inferior in their development when compared to infants from very poor homes where the quality of the infant-mother relationship was satisfactory.

In the second year of life, sensitivity to signals is no longer the sole most important factor to affect cognitive growth. The mother's interst in playing with the child, in showing him new and stimulating things in the course of play increasingly becomes a factor of primary importance. Mothers who engaged in playing with their infants in this manner did not do it for the expressed purpose of teaching the child a new task. Rather, they enjoyed the company of their children and often the child's toys as well. It was the mother's interest in exploring the toys that spurred the baby's curiosity and lead him to become actively engaged in exploring its properties on an independent basis. Mother's interest in toys helps the child's development through arousing his curiosity and leading him to independent exploration, as well as by providing a model that he can imitate.

It is relevant at this point to pause to examine how the mother comes to have such a major effect on the child. I would like to propose three ways in which she exercises this influence.

First, it seems that maternal behavior facilitates the development of abilities directly. As I have tried to indicate so far, the child learns much from imitation, from having his signals interpreted by her, from being taught and generally stimulated by her.

Second, even when the mother is not in direct interaction with the child she can substantially influence the kind of experience he can have with his environment. For example, she may provide interesting objects for him to play with, she may give him freedom to explore his world; or she may confine him for long periods of his day and foster his passivity by preventing him from having the rewarding experience of independent exploration.

Third, a baby's exprience with his mother may have an indirect effect on his dealings with the rest of the world through affecting his confidence. This confidence has at least two noteworthy aspects--confidence in her and confidence in himself. Trust in the mother may well be a necessary condition before he will venture forth to explore the world. A child who has been neglected or mistreated may be too afraid to trust~~ing~~ any expreince which presents itself in the external world. Confidence in himself is also affected by how he has been treated. A child who has experienced effective control of what happens to him as a consequence of his own activity is likely to approach new objects and new situations with a sense of confidence, that is, with the expectation that he can have a measure of control over ~~its~~ their effect on him and will not be overwhelmed by them. A child whose mother has responded to his signals and wishes would have acquired this kind of confidence in the effectiveness of his own actions in the course of interacting with her.

I stated in the beginning of this talk that the knoweldge gained from these studies has great relevance to the matter which has brought all of us together today. I would like to turn now to a discussion of how this information could be incorporated to the process of planning for day care. First, it seems essential that parents be made aware of the importnace of their role in the process of development, and be encouraged to take an interest in the growth of their child. It is not possible for the day-care staff to become effective substitutes for the mother. Although day-care personnel may in some cases, be the persons who spend more actual time with the child, they cannot and, in my opinion, should not, wherever a parent figure already exists, become the most important caretakers. Their role is to provide adequate substitute caretaking for the period of time that the mother must be away. In order for the mother to be able to fulfill her important role, she must be, above all, physically and emotionally available to the child for a meaningful period of his day. It is the responsibility of all those concerned with child care to encourage and facilitate her availability.

Second, day-care personnel are to follow the same guidelines in their interaction with the child that have been found to foster development when practiced by the mother. Sensitivity, responsiveness, and playfulness are all qualities beneficial to the child irrespective of whether the figure who possesses them is a primary or a secondary attachment figure. Similarly, much harm can result when these characteristics are lacking in any of the figures who share the child-caring responsibilities. In order to establish a harmonious, cooperative relationship with the child, it is essential that the staff member have a very small number of children under her care so that she may provide the individualized ~~care~~ treatment that healthy development requires. Since she will become one of the figures toward whom the the child will form an attachment, one additional consideration is to play a major role in the selection of day-care personnel: that the caretaker be a stable member of the community, willing to make a commitment to remain at the center for an extended period of time. The literature on mother-child separation abounds with evidence of the harmful effects on emotional development caused by a breach in the relationship between a child and the persons toward whom he has formed an attachment. All precautions must be taken to decrease the likelihood of freqeunt turnovers in personnel if harmful effcts on the child are to be prevented.

I have not paid attention, more than indirectly, today to the consequences of inadequate handling. What happens when the mother does not fulfill her role adequately, when she is not available or interested in the child? The effects of this attitude are not manifested only in early cognitive deficits, but in emotional disturbance as well. Emotional disturbances which result from inadequate handling are compunded with the detrimental effect on cognitive development, and often it is not possible to modify these except through psychotherapeutic intervention.

It is here that day-care personnel have a task of primary importance. Ideally, they should be trained to detect the early signs of maladjustment and not only provide through their sensitive handling a source of corrective treatment in themselves, but intervene with the parents whenever possible to undertake additional corrective measures which will be effective in arresting and reversing these disturbances.

Planning with these facts in mind, I feel, can turn the day-care experience into a meaningful contribution to the task of child rearing.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Lorand, you may proceed.

## STATEMENT OF DR. RHODA L. LORAND, ADJUNCT ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENT OF GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING, LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

Dr. LORAND. As Senator Buckley observed on an earlier occasion, "The basic concern of this committee, the well-being of America's children, is a concern which we all share. Yet there is considerable controversy as to what in the long run will best enhance their well-being and as to what may in fact be harmful to it."

Of course, that is just what Representative Chisholm was attempting to clarify with the Senator.

It appears to me that the Family Services Act of 1975 contains some fundamental contradictions. On the one hand, it intends to help children have a full chance to participate in American life, yet it makes no provisions for rescuing the tragic children whose parents or guardians are too emotionally disturbed themselves to either recognize the need for help or to request it.

The poet Ned O'Gorman, who has run a nursery school in Harlem which he started nearly 10 years ago and which is privately supported, eloquently and movingly describes the lives of a few of such children in the June 1 New York Times Sunday magazine cover story. "They came to us out of torments that would make stones weep," he says.

I would like permission to insert his entire article—

Senator MONDALE. That will appear following your testimony. I read the article——

Dr. LORAND. He is an extraordinary person.

Day care facilities and other home and health services would not be requested by many other parents in addition to the drug-addicted, alcoholic, or mentally ill adults described by Mr. O'Gorman.

There are many immature and inadequate mothers who leave babies, toddlers, and preschoolers alone at night, which indicates that night care centers might be one of the most valuable services to provide for the poor, and other mothers who even find it too dificult, for example, to find the motivation to arise in the morning and bring a preschooler to a day care center situated within their own housing project. The result is that the child is a prisoner in a crib most of the day while the mother remains asleep, circumstances which greatly retard the child's cognitive development and its future school performance.

These are the children who are cheated of a full chance in American life and it would seem that our first priority should be to formulate plans to rescue these youngsters however difficult and complex the task assuredly will be.

I would think that the $1,850,000 requested for the first 3 years of operation of the Child and Family Services Act of 1975 would be better spent on rescuing these children who, if left in the conditions in which they now live, will begin to prey on society at an early age and will spend the major portion of their ruined lives in penal or mental institutions at great cost to taxpayers.

However difficult and complex the task is, it ought to command top priority for concerned and compassionate citizens as well as for the merely practical, if one computes the cost to the Nation of their probable future assaults upon society and eventual incarceration.

Second, the bill emphasizes the wish to strengthen family life, yet there is an unmistakable emphasis on the promotion of day care as a beneficial experience for children.

While no one can deny that for certain children even the most ordinary day care facilities are preferable to the only alternatives available to them at the moment, there appears to be a complete ignoring of the voluminous clinical evidence that young children develop best when in the care of their mothers, assuming the mother is reasonably normal, or with a mother surrogate, and that the emotional sustenance provided by the mother's loving care and interest are indispensable to cognitive growth.

In other words, what is ignored is the clinically proven fact that physical, cognitive, emotional, and social development take place concurrently and are most interdependent during the earliest years of a child's life. It is, therefore, a great mistake to encourage women to leave their preschoolers in institutional day care and take employment.

The June 1975 issue of Psychiatric Annals is devoted to the mental health of children. Findings of value to this committee are reported therein:

> The most effective Head Start program studied used the mother's presence in the classroom and parents in every phase of program development and implementation to provide effective learning for the child.

According to the author, child psychiatrist Dr. I. N. Berlin, the reporting of such research has still not essentially altered the parents' role in most current Head Start programs, and he notes that it is difficult to overcome the prejudice of administrators and teachers who see parents in an adversary and not a collaborative role.

It is not unreasonable to conclude that the reason for the failure of Head Start to fulfill its intended goal of improving a child's learning ability is that most have done nothing to help mothers become more involved with their preschoolers.

Referring to the "unachieved potential in maternal and infant programs," Dr. Berlin notes that it is very difficult to help fellow health professionals to become concerned about the psychologic development of the child and to recognize that part of their job is to enhance the mothering skills in these young women.

> The success of such early intervention program in a few instances makes it clear that legislation that turns programs over to the usual medical agencies and departments without close review of their work to help them change their approach tends to undermine the full potential impact of such a program.

He describes the extraordinary differences between the mothers and babies who were part of a well-coordinated program where the mothers were helped to understand the importance to their babies' development of cuddling, talking, singing, and playing with the infant by showing them films of nonstimulated infants, for example.

It was possible to later observe these subjects when they became kindergartners: "They were the most alert, curious, friendly, physically active, and joyous in their approach to others," of all the youngsters in that nursery group.

Since it is plainly this kind of beginning which gives children a chance to realize their maximum potential, I would hope that this is what concerned legislators would stress.

Another highly significant program which is raising the IQ of preschoolers by 15 points on an average is reported on in the current Carnegie Quarterly. The initial project, largely funded by the National Institute of Mental Health with additional support from the Carnegie Corporation and other foundations, is being duplicated and monitored with about 900 children in 30 places ranging from an Indian reservation to an industrial city.

The children who have experienced this program have fewer behavior problems, which is not surprising since they are happier and learning is not fraught with frustration.

Moreover, the second child in a family who enrolls in the program averages 8 IQ points higher than the first child. To the Carnegie Foundation it suggests "enhanced parenting skills." I would add that it indicates also the results of stimulation from a more knowledgeable and active older sibling.

The verbal interaction project, as it is called, has been singled out by the American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences as one of only 10 projects out of several hundred compensatory education programs across the country that could be labeled successful and was chosen as a model program by the U.S. Office of Education.

Mothers are shown how to be involved from the very beginning of this program with their children with educational games and reading to them and then questioning them.

I have a little brochure here on the program which I would like permission to have inserted into the record.

Twice each week both the mother and the child are visited by what are called toy demonstrators. The toy demonstrator demonstrates verbal interaction techniques to the mother around selected toys and books, called verbal interaction stimulus material. The mother participates in every home session. She is drawn into and encouraged to take over the play activity which is initiated by the toy demonstrator. Paid or volunteer women act as toy demonstrators and many of the mothers whose children have graduated from the program become toy demonstrators themselves.

Their parts in these programs, however, does not depend on previous educational or work experience. They learn their skills through an initial training workshop in weekly groups and ongoing individual supervision is given by family-oriented professionals.

I would like to note that many of the people who have compared different groups of children have observed that underprivileged children seem, on an average, to show an IQ that is about 15 points lower.

This is therefore one of the most exciting and valuable programs I have heard of. The results seem to be demonstrating that it is completely effective. It is in accord with all clinical findings that you cannot separate out a close emotional relationship with the mother from cognitive growth, and I would hope that this is the direction that our efforts would take, to enhance the mother-child relationship and the mothering ability, the proven basis of learning ability and emotional well-being, rather than in the direction of institutional care.

If day care will cost $4,000 per child per year and the verbal interaction program costs $500 per child, I don't know why the mothers of these very young children cannot be given $3,500 extra to meet their expenses and enable them to stay at home until their children are old enough to go to school. The remaining $500 would pay for the verbal interaction program.

It seems to me that this program is the sort of thing we should be doing, and it doesn't matter how much we spend if we are going to succeed in obliterating the IQ deficit in the underprivileged children. It is perfectly obvious that it is possible to do and it has been proven that the deficit is purely environmental—it seems to me to be worth spending all our resources on it.

This program, which was recognized as long ago as 1972 by the Office of Education should have been on the front page of every newspaper; we should be shouting about it from the rooftops, yet nobody that I know has ever heard of it, and I think that something should be done about that without further delay.

The bill is presented as a measure designed to help the poor and marginal families, yet the children who are destined for private school will not be excluded. The privacy and rights of parents will be safeguarded, the bill assures, but there are at least two provisions which give carte blanche to the Secretary to install any program or take any action which in his opinion furthers the spirit of the legislation.

The program is to be voluntary, but if the poor do not apply, will they be subject to subtle or overt coercion or will those in command be satisfied with fulfilling the request for services of more fortunate applicants?

In a recent article in the New York Times they noted that although Headstart was not supposed to take more than 10 percent of affluent children, they definitely exceeded that limit.

The primary purpose of the bill, it is said, is to give children of mothers who are forced to work the opportunity to develop to their fullest potential and that one must avoid subjecting children to mind-numbing custodial care.

Now, that, of course, is a misunderstanding, the fact that a nice, simple, uneducated person who likes the child is taking care of it constitutes mind-numbing custodial care. The child who feels loved becomes very interested in knowing all about that person and the world he represents and in becoming like this person. There is great stimulation for the child and it doesn't matter how uneducated the person is, if he loves the child and takes good care of him, the youngster begins to come out of itself and look around at this great big puzzling world and tries to learn more about it.

I think this idea of mind-numbing custodial care is mistaken. It is mind-numbing for a child to have a succession of caretakers to whom he is hardly related, who are simply there for a salary, who have no real feeling for the child. That is not only mind-numbing, it is soul-numbing and heartbreaking, and that is what we should really be concerned about.

I must tell you briefly about an experiment that Anna Freud performed at the Hampstead Clinic during World War II. They had——

Senator MONDALE. I think what you are saying is very useful. You have a long statement and we have three more witnesses, so I ask you to say what you feel needs to be said and file the statement—in other words, you are expanding on the statement quite a bit, and I can see we are going to be here until 12 or 12:15, and I want to hear what you have to say, but ——

**Dr. Lorand.** Well, how many minutes would you like me to take?

**Senator Mondale.** Well, take as many minutes as you want—I do not want to stop you, but I notice that there have been quite a few extrapolations, and I am just wondering when you will be finished so that we can be guided by that.

**Dr. Lorand.** Well, let me see now——

**Senator Mondale.** Say what you think has to be said and take the time you think you need. I just want to get to our witnesses. That is all.

**Dr. Lorand.** Well, I can tell you about this little experiment that Anna Freud made. It is probably more important than anything else.

Miss Freud, who is the daughter of Sigmund Freud, was dedicated to caring for the bombed out children who were placed in her Hampstead Nursery during World War II. She and her staff were highly educated, dedicated people who took no salaries from any foundations. This was work they wanted to do.

They had the usual institutional arrangement, the toddlers, the 3-year-olds, the 4-year-olds, and they were deeply concerned because, in spite of all their interest in the children, they were not developing. They had the vacant expressions which the staff had seen in children at ordinary orphanages; they were not learning language; they could not be toilet trained; they were apathetic, and Miss Freud and her group could not bear to see this happening to the children.

They had a cue from the fact that these youngsters, when they went home to their poor working class homes, to their uneducated working class mothers, would when they returned from the weekend, have expression in their faces, they had learned quite a few words, and there was a marked difference in them.

So Miss Freud arranged to have all of the children regrouped around mother surrogates. She took a 2-year-old, a 3-year-old, and a 4-year-old, and those three were grouped around one nurse who did everything for them. In other words, she did it 6 days a week, there was no exception, and the 7th day was always taken care or by the same person.

Now, what happened was that within a very short period of time bedlam had broken loose. The formerly peaceful nursery became a place of screaming, discontented, crying, miserable children fighting over their new mother and terribly upset when she would pay any attention to any other child, and Miss Freud's staff urged her, to please, go back to their former arrangement where they could function peacefully.

And Miss Freud said (in effect): If we have hit upon this violent a reaction, if we are provoking this much emotion, we have struck something very important.

She encouraged all of them to stay with it and after a few weeks the children settled down. Of course, all children have to learn to cope with jealousy, but they began to develop love and to have confidence in this mother Surrogate and their attachment grew. They began to imitate her speech; they acquired vocabulary; they were toilet trainable; they began to do whatever this beloved person wanted of them and they patterned themselves after her and became happier and interested in the world around them. I think we have to learn from that experience why the institutionalized day care with the turnover of help, no matter how well-intentioned it is, is really not the answer, and we should stop downgrading mothers because they are not educated.

And if time is limited, I would prefer to leave it at that.

Senator **Mondale**. All right. Your full statement will appear in the record at the conclusion of your testimony.

Mrs. Chisholm.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. Oh, boy. First of all, I would like to thank you for your appearance here before the committee because I think it is very important to get all kinds of opinions and all kinds of viewpoints.

But I sat here for a moment and thought I was in an entirely different world because of the fact that I have spent the better part of my professional life in the field of day care, nursery schools, and Headstart and I am able to tell from experience what has happened to children who came into these different child settings completely blank, completely unknowledgeable of many things, feeling fears and anxieties, to see what happened in a setting that was conducive simultaneously, not only to their mothering, in quotes, if you will, but simultaneously also to their intellectual, emotional, and physical development, and all of these things are interrelated.

It is not only a question of the good grandmother and the mother and what-have-you. It is a question of the total child that one speaks about.

And, of course, with respect to your experiment with Anna Freud, Anna Freud lived in an entirely different area, and entirely different era, if you will. There is a conglomerate of all kinds of factors in today's society that are not applicable to the days of Anna Freud.

Dr. **Lorand**. I do not think that human nature has changed at all since the beginning of time.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. No; human nature has not changed since the beginning of time, but the factors in a society or the attitudes are generated in a society by many, many different kinds of factors that cause human beings to react differently and to become aware of the fact that tradition can no longer answer the problem when traditions do not focus the problem that we face.

And, of course, I am going to say this and then I will stop because the chairman has other witnesses, that there are things I want to ask but we do not have the time.

It is always interesting to me—are you not primarily a researcher?

Dr. **Lorand**. I am a clinician. I have worked with parents and children for almost 25 years in clinical settings.

Mrs. **Chisholm**. All right. Second, what would you do—and this is the only question I want to ask you this morning—what would you actually do given the factors in today's society in America where thousands of mothers are the sole support of their families and have to go out to work, where you now have approximately 4 million children under the age of 6 who are either in low-income families or single parent homes or both—what are you going to do with all these youngsters when you know fully well that when you mention $3,500 a year, why do we not give them the $3,500 a year—in New York City alone it would cost maybe double or triple that to give to a family just to take care of the basic needs because of the cost of living in New York City.

We also have to take into account the pragmatic factors that legislators of this country and at the city, State, and national level will never come to the point of giving a family that kind of money.

You see, I think what happens, we have to be very—we have to realize what the factors are that we are dealing with in our society today, and what do we do with a labor force that is escalating year by year with thousands of women who are going out there to work, many of whom would prefer to really stay at home, but the situation is that they have to be out there in that work force, and I do not think that you are really going into that broad level.

Dr. LORAND. Mrs. Chisholm, as I understand it, it is going to cost an awful lot of money to have these children in day care, and no matter what the prejudices of society are, I think we have to try to educate people to the fact that this money should go to the mothers.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. No further questions at this point.

Senator MONDALE. What would you do for the tortured children described in the New York Times article? How would you reach them?

Dr. LORAND. I think some version of the psychiatrically-oriented kibbutz is the answer. I think you have to take the mother and the children and offer them sanctuary, offer them rehabilitative care, preferably outside of the area.

Mr. O'Gorman suggests a 24-hour rehabilitative service in communities.

I think that if we had dedicated Peace Corps-type individuals who are really interested and really compassionate, we could take these young mothers and these sick mothers with their children and help them—help the child-mother, the 13-, 14-, and 15-year-old and say, in effect—"Go to school. We will take care of your child. When you come back from school, you will take over part of the care of your child."

And for the older woman who is so damaged, to have rehabilitative therapy for her and to help all of these deeply troubled persons to know that there are those who would help them find themselves.

We have to dare to be truly innovative—I know that word "kibbutz" sends many people up the wall, but these kibbutz teams are voluntary organizations. I would offer this to the parents, and I would agree with Ned O'Gorman that if the mother refuses, she at least cannot stop her child from being rescued and brought into that kind of really protective sanctuary. I think we are going to just have to do that.

Senator MONDALE. What would you do if the funds to permit parents who, by force of current economics, of course, must work, stay home—what would you do if those funds were not available?

Dr. LORAND. We have money for everything we want to do in this country. And I agree with your statement that the multinational companies and all the others with their wonderful tax breaks should not have them. We could have several billions of dollars a year more, if all of that were stopped.

And when we go to war, we find all the money that we need.

All of that money should be spent on these people. We can do it. We have the money if we are just not going to subsidize the rich and give relief to the multimillionaire corporations that are in trouble.

**Senator Mondale.** I see you have read a lot of my speeches, but the problem is that those speeches have not gotten anywhere.

And you see, I agree completely with the notion, which I think is fundamental to American life, that the healthiest place, the most important place for a child, is in a healthy family. I do not think there is any question about that. You do not have to be a psychiatrist or anyone else to know that.

But as your statement points out and as others have pointed out, tragically and strangely, as we become richer as a nation, we put tremendous economic pressures on the average family.

For example, the average single parent's income is $6,000, and you cannot live on that—in New York City you cannot live on it—and the average single parent who stays at home, and I assume is on welfare, has $4,000 a year. That is about $1,000 under the poverty level. That means that they are probably suffering from malnutrition.

Dr. **Lorand.** That has to be supplemented whether or not it is a popular idea.

**Senator Mondale.** But I am asking you: If you can, what do you do? That is what we are confronting.

Dr. **Lorand.** But if you educate the public: "Look how much cheaper it is"; if you educate the legislators as to how much cheaper it is to do this now—consider the damage and the cost of incarceration later. I do not think there is enough emphasis being given to this idea. People give in too easily to these stereotyped pressures, such as, "You cannot give people that much money."

In the case of every family with preschool children where the mother would be forced to go to work, that family's income should be supplemented. This good should be worked toward world with everyone's full energy.

**Senator Mondale.** Poor George McGovern, he proposed sending everyone $1,000 and they ran him off, and the only thing that was left was President Ford sent $1,000 to every family over $40,000 a year. That is the only thing that is left of the program.

Dr. **Lorand.** Well, there are many families that are able to make private arrangements for day care for their children that does not cost them anything. The University of Michigan has just published a study in which 5,000 families were questioned. Most of them made private nonpaid day care arrangements for their children.

You know, what is happening is we are being propagandized into a mind-numbing belief that there is an overwhelming need for this institutionalized day care, when we really could be working toward the neighborhood type which would not cost half as much and which is really much better for the children.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Lorand and other information supplied follow:]

STATEMENT OF DR. RHODA LORAND ON S. 626 AND H.R. 2966
BEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND
YOUTH AND THE HOUSE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION
JUNE 19, 1975

As Senator Buckley observed on an earlier occasion "The basic concern of this committee--the well-being of America's children -- is a concern which we all share. Yet there is considerable controversy as to what in the long run will best enhance their well-being and as to what may in fact, be harmful to it."

It appears to me that The Family Services Act of 1975 contains some fundamental contradictions. On the one hand it intends to help children have a full chance to participate in American life, yet it makes no provisions for rescuing the tragic children whose parents or guardians are too emotionally disturbed themselves to either recognize the need for help or to request it. The poet, Ned O'Gorman, who has run a nursery school in Harlem which he started nearly ten years ago and which is privately supported, eloquently and movingly describes the lives of a few of such children in the June 1st N.Y. Times Sunday Magazine. "They came to us out of torments that would make stones weep," he says. I would like to insert the entire article into the Record of these hearings.

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Day-care facilities and other home and health services would not be requested by many other parents in addition to the drug-addicted, alcoholic or mentally ill adults described by Mr. O'Gorman. There are many immature and inadequate mothers who leave babies, todlers, and pre-schoolers alone at night (indicating that night-care centers might be one of the most valuable services to provide for the poor), and other mothers who even find it too difficult, for example, to find the motivation to arise in the morning and bring a pre-schooler to a day-care center situated within their own housing project. The result is that the child is a prisioner in a crib most of the day while the mother remains asleep, circumstances which greatly retard its cognitive development and its future school performance.

These are the children who are cheated of a full chance in American life and it would seem that our first priority should be to formulate plans to rescue these youngsters however difficult and complex the task assuredly will be. I would think that the one billion-eight-hundred-fifty million dollars requested for the first three years of operation of The Child and Family Services Act of 1975, would be better spent on rescuing these children, who, if left in the conditions in which they now live, will begin to prey on society at an early age and will spend the major portion of their ruined lives in penal or mental institutions at great cost to taxpayers. However difficult and complex the task assuredly will be, it ought to command top priority for concerned and compassionate citizens as well as for the merely practical -- if one computes the cost to the nation of their probable future assaults upon society, and eventual incarceration.

Secondly, the bill emphasizes the wish to strength family life, yet there is an unmistabeable emphasis on the promotion of day-care as a beneficial experience for children. While no one well deny that for certain children even the most ordinary day-care facility is preferable to the only alternatives available to them, there appears to be a complete ignorning of the voluminous clinical evidence that young children develope best when in the care of their mothers (assuming the mother is reasonably normal) and that the emotional sustenance provided by the mother's loving care and interest are indispensable to cognitive growth. In other words what is ignored is the clinically proven fact that physical, cognitive, emotional, and social development take place concurrently and are most interdependent during the earliest years of a child's life. It is therefore a great mistake to encourage women to leave their pre-schoolers in institutional day-care and take employment. The June 1975 issue of PSYCHIATRIC ANNALS is devoted to the mental health of children. Findings of value to this committee are reported therein. "The most effective Head Start program studied used the mother's presence in the classroom and parents in every phase of program development and implementation to provide effective learning for the child." According to the author, child psychiatrist Dr. I. N. Berlin, the reporting of such research has still not essentially altered the parents' role in most current Head Start programs" and he notes that it is difficult to overcome the prejudice of administrators and teachers who see parents in an adversary and not a collaborative role. It is not unreasonable to conclude that the reason for the failure of Head Start to fulfill its intended goal of improving a child's learning ability is that most have done nothing to help mothers become more involved with their pre-schoolers. Referring to the "unachieved potential in maternal and infant programs" Dr. Berlin notes that it is very difficult to help follow health professionals to become concerned about the psychologic development of the child and to recognize that part of their job is to enhance the mother-in skills of these young women. "The success of such early intervention programs in a few instances makes it clear that legislation that turns programs over to the usual medical agencies and departments, without close review of their work to help them change their approach, tends to undermine the full potential impact of such a program." He describes the extraordinary differences between the mothers and babies who were part of a well-cordinated program where the mothers were helped to understand the importance to their child's development of cuddlings, talking, singing and playing with the infant by showing them films of non-stimulated infants, for example. It was possible to later observe these subjects when they became kindergartners. "They were the most alert, curious, friendly-physically active and joyous in their approach to others (p. 40).

Since it is plainly this kind of beginning which gives children a chance to realize their maximum potential, I would hope that this is what concerned legislators would stress.

Another highly significant program, which is raising the IQ of pre-schoolers by 15 points on an average is reported on in the current CARNEGIE QUARTERLY. The initial project largely funded by the NIMH. With additional support from Carnegie corp. and other foundations it is now being duplicated and monitored with about 900 children in 30 places ranging from an Indian reservation to an industrial city. The children who have experienced this program have fewer behavior problems, which is not surprising since they are happier and learning is not frought with frustration. "Moreover, the second child in a family who enrolls in the program, averages 81.9 points higher than the first child -- to the Carnegie Foundation it suggests enhanced "Parenting skills" -- I would add it indicates also the results of stimulation from a more knowledgeable and active older sibling. The Verbal Interaction Project, as it is called has been singled out by the American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences as one of only 10 projects out of several hundred compensatory education programs across the country that could be labelled "successful," and was chosen as a model program by the U.S.

Office of Education. Mothers are shown how to be involved from the start in working with their children with games and reading to them and questioning them. I would ask that a brochure describing the project be included in the Record.

This is the direction that our efforts should be taken--to enhance the mother-child relationship and mothering abilities--the proven basis of learning ability and emotional well-being, not in the direction of institutional care.

The provisions of the legislation under consideration today seem to be based on misinformation or an inadequate knowledge of the emotional -- cognitive development of the child, and its connection with the parent-child relationship.

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The bill is presented as a measure designed to help the poor and marginal families, yet the children who are destined for private schools will not be excluded.

The privacy and rights of parents will be safeguarded, the bill assures, but there are at least two provisions which give carte blanche to the Secretary to install any problem or take any action which in his opinion furthers the spirit of the legislation.

The problem is to be voluntary. If the poor do not apply will they be subject to subtle or overt coercion or will those in command be satisfied with filfilling the requests for services of more fortunate applicants?

The primary purpose of the bill, it is said, is to give children of mothers who are forced to work, the opportunity to develop to their fullest potential and that one must avoid subjecting children to "mind-numbing custodial care." This means that the children must be cared for by people who like and enjoy youngsters, who understand what to expect of children at each age from infancy on, who are patient, kind, reliable, honest, conscientious and dependable and with whom the child can establish a long-term relationship. Whatever efforts are made in day-care centers to stimulate a little child's intellect will only be effective if the child likes the adult who is interacting with him. Otherwise he will turn away and may be completely turned off learning because it will be associated in his mind with the unpleasantness of contact with a disliked individual.

As if the above were not a tall enough order to fill, the proponents of the bill plan to combine it with the amelioration of the unemployment problem in depressed and deprived areas. As many of the local people as possible will be hired as paraprofessionals in child-care and for other positions which may bring them into frequent contact with the children. The sad fact is that many of these people, having themselves been treated with a combination of harshness and meglect as children have been rendered quite incapable of treating children in any other way, because there is a compulsion in all of us, clinical evidence reveals, to handle children in the way we ourselves were handled. It is an early and indelibly etched pattern which can usually only be altered by intensive therapy or through experience on a sustained basis warmth and kind consideration from an authority, who unconsciously represents a new parent figure.

One cannot be too careful in the choice of one's parent. Mark Twain observed--and the same applies to the hiring of parent surrogates. A child's cognitive abilities are stimulated and enhanced by contact with people who make him feel happy. He is motivated to know more about them and the world they represent. He identifies with them, tries to live up to their demands on him in order to please them. The child who is hurt, neglected, un happy or frightened withdraws into himself and tries to know as little as possible about the paingiving world around him, or else may feel the need to continually attack it in order to overcome his feeling of helplessness or to express his rage and disorder to overcome his feeling of helplessness or to express his rage and disappointment because of emotional frustration. Such attitudes are vitally important components in learning disabilities. The need to not know and the presence of unmanageable quantities of rage are among the prime causes of learning blocks.

"Every parent knows the importance of the first 5 years of life" Senator Mondale said in his address to the Senate. Would that every parent did know this and acted on it. (As a matter of fact there are many parents, especially among the uneducated but also within the ranks of Women's Lib who have no real understanding of the crucial importance of that early period.) He continued: "We know that these beginning years are the formative years--they are the years in which permanent foundations are laid for a child's feelings of self worth, his sense of self-respect, his motivation, his initiative, and his ability to learn and achieve." This statement is clinically valid, but can the Senator possible believe that a day-care center is capable of supplying the long-term love and discipline which enable the child to gain mastery over his instincts? Only as a result of such mastery does he have at his disposal the energies of sublimated drives which enable him to become a self-controlled, law-abiding, achieving little citizen. These accomplishments are an important source of his sense of self-worth and self-respect, all of which began as he viewed himself in terms of the beaming expression of love and joy with which his mother viewed him.

Over and over again it has been demonstrated that that which gives a child the greatest chance to achieve his maximum potential in life--a stated goal of this bill--is the opportunity to spend his first five years in the loving care of a normally devoted mother, yet, the Senator quotes with approval statements of the Director of the Woman's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor who, in arguing strongly for day care for all classes of women's requirements claims that it is of importance to middle class women to be able to upgrade their standard of living. She adds, that "Women with professional and technical skills can continue to contribute their skills and talents to fill the needs of our society in health, science, business and industry, politics and other fields. Day care in fact, is a boon to women of all economic levels who want the freedom to choose for themselves their own life sytle and decide for themselves how they can best contribute (translation: how much they are willing to give) to the well-being of their families." Certainly none of these women can be considered poor and in need of government assistance, yet it appears that the proposed facilities will be at their disposal.

Those statements represent the position of the universal-day-care proponents and of Women's Lib (often one and the same) many of whose members openly express their belief that child care and homemaking are the most degrading of all human activities.. How does this square with the statements of appreciation of the importance of the family and the desire to strengthen family life which are emphasized in the bill as well as in the Senator's introduction? The mother will be freed to make a contribution to the world of work while neglecting the opportunity to enhance the development and happiness of her own babies, toddlers and preschoolers. The younger her children are, as clinical studies have definitively proven, the more demaged they will be emotionally, developmentally and cognitively by the impersonality and the changing personnel characteristic of institutional care. Where the mother is unable to function, daytime"foster home" care with a samll family on a continuous basis is the only safe arrangement for the child's development during its earliest years.

In addition, a great many of the provisions and the programs of this legislation already seem to be contained in various welfare services provided under the Social Security Act. A recent New York Times article discusses these programs and the failure of a number of states to meet their requirements and regulations. I ask that the article be included in the Record.

Taking into consideration the following facts: that a recent HEW survey of 607 day-care centers in 9 different states revealed that a staggering 70% "failed to meet Federal health and safety requirements" (children's lives were actually endangered in some of them); that 40% "failed to meet the minimal but essential Federal standards for staff-child ratios": that the former Director of HEW's Office of Child Development, Dr. Edward Zigler observed that in "many instances we are paying for service that is harmful to children": that Senator "himself concedes that the conditions in the day-care centers are "an absolute disgrace with tragic and profound effects on children and families" (all quotations from the Congressional Record, op.cit. p. S1637). [illegible] to plan a massive increase in the number of these institutions before making a rigorous and exhaustive study to pinpoint the causes and sources of the corruption, inefficiency. the heartless and dangerous neglect of the children, and to determine whether it is in fact possible to eliminate such abuses if we are going to have an astronomical number of these centers, even if 5% of the total funding is spent "monitoring and enforcing standards." The most flagrant abuses may be reduced but where will all the needed conscientious and incorruptable monitors and enforcers be found?

Assuming for the sake of argument that they are available, can individuals whose character defects permit them to cheat, neglect and endanger the health of the children they have been hired to nurture and protect, be monitored into becoming conscientous and caring ? No more than irritable. impatient, hostile. sarcastic, punitive and spiteful" more can be monitored into becoming the patient. kindly, tolerant and understanding caretakers needed by the children if they are to feel safe and happy and if they are to be helped by the center to lay those "permanent foundations which will result in the child's developing feelings of self worth, self-respect, motivation, initiative" etc.

Everyone contemplating the provisions of The Family Services Act of 1975 owes it to himself to read the article by former Representative Edith Green entitled "The Educational Entrepreneur" (The Public Interest No. 28, Summer 1972) excerpts from which are appended. The article presents in detail some of the shocking facts uncovered as a result of her investigation of the Office of Education.

We are entitled to ask what reasons there are for believing that the proposed Office of Child and Family Services will be any less liable to "the inefficiency, confusion, waste, breakdown and corruption (active or passive)" which Representative Green found to characterize the functioning of the Office of Education. or that the proposed Office of Child and Family Services will acquire the services of professionals and agencies any less guilty of corruption and "rampant commercialism and profiteering" than those patronized by the powerful Office of Education. It would appear that The Child and Family Services Act of 1975 can readily become a monumental example of what Rep. Green calls "the education-poverty-industrial complex". Are the individuals at HEW who will administer this Act fundamentally different in any way from those at the Office of Education?

In his sponsoring address to the Senate, Mr. Mondale, in stressing the imperative need, in his opinion, for institutionalized child-care. cited statistics on the disappearance of the extended family, which left mothers without the needed help in caring for their children while they were at work. There seems, however, to be an information gap. According to the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research which surveyed 5,000 families in 1973, "only

8% of the families with young children and working mothers took their children to either a day care center or a nursery school. About half used some method which involved another family member as a sitter, and nearly a quarter either had husbands who worked a split-shift so that they could share in the responsibility of child care, or had a job which they could do at home. Almost half of the families interviewed did not pay anything for child care, including families in both low and high income strata [Emphasis added] Most of this 'free' care was provided either by parents or other relatives and might involve what amounts to a nonmonetary exchange system.

"Contrary to the fears of some employers who balk at hiring mothers because they fear sitting arrangements will break down, the study found that child care was not only inexpensive, it was also reliable. Even those who used the least reliable methods and lived in circumstances most conducive to disruptions had an average of only one or two breakdowns in child care a year." (ISR NEWSLETTER, p. 7, Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan, Winter 1975. P.O. Box 1248 Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106)

Recently the TODAY show featured an account of a cooperative day-care center in which parents, as well as grandparents, took turns caring for the children, at no cost to anyone. Of course there are neighborhoods where this system cannot work because there are too many troubled people. They are the ones who do require government assistance and other services which they usually reject, such as psychotherapeutic help. But it is a tremendous asset to a child's development to have parents who keep full responsibility for his well-being and are able to enter into and maintain cooperative relationships with other parents. It enhances the parents' sense of self-worth and the child identifies with the excellent self-image of the parent, thereby enhancing his own self-image. Too many well-meaning social planners and legislators fail to understand this. While bemoaning the decline in the authority of the family, they promote all sorts of measures which deprive the parents of authority or encourage them to yield it to others. Instead there should be widespread encouragement of cooperative ventures through government citations of merit and widespread publicity. All available funds should be used for the intensive care of the deeply troubled people who really cannot function adequately without assistance.

The proposed attempt to offer comprehensive psychological testing and treatment is doomed to failure. The number of professionals qualified to offer such services is infinitessimal compared to the number which would be needed if this bill were to become law. There is much evidence that the uneducated poor tend to resent and reject psychological services. If available, the likelihood is that they would be requested mainly by the middle and upper middle class parents, and it is important to keep in mind that this bill is promoted as aid to the poor. There may of course be a plan in the offing to train paraprofessionals to give psychological tests and provide therapy. Last year a program was begun to make therapists of the unemployed ethnic poor. There seems to be no limit to the mindlessness which can find support from the Federal government.

I would urge that instead of building sterile, day-care centers for the separation of children from their mothers that the funds be spent on keeping mothers and children together and on enhancing the mother-child relationship, and with it the happiness, self-esteem, and the learning potential of the child.

Is the solution that of doing more of the same under the Family Services Act of 1975?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1975

# 7 States Penalized for Child Health Lag

By NANCY HICKS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2—Seven states have been penalized a portion of their Federal welfare aid for failing to implement a health screening and treatment program for poor children, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced today.

The penalties are the first levied under the Early Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment program, which was set up under Medicaid to bring comprehensive health services to 13 million underprivileged children.

In the program's six-year existence, however, fewer than three million children have received the mandated services, so that H.E.W. took action under a section of the law requiring states not providing the services to lose some of their welfare aid.

### States Affected

The states affected are Hawaii, Indiana, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota and Pennsylvania, which lost a total of $1.7-million for failing to inform, test or treat the eligible children.

Six additional states are also under review, H.E.W. Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger said, and further penalties could be forthcoming.

The six were not identified.

"I hope that the seven states cited today will act promptly to correct their deficiencies," Mr. Weinberger said at a news conference.

"Our goal is not to penalize but to bring medical attention to these children early so as to prevent long-term incapacity and dependency as well as to avert suffering," he said.

The legislation setting up the program was passed in 1967 to try to make state and local health programs pay systematic attention to the development of poor children, who suffer from anemia, deafness, eye defects, and a host of other ailments in greater proportion than the population as a whole. The program serves persons up to 21 years of age, but concentrates on those under 6.

The program has been criticized by Congressmen, welfare groups and other organizations since it went into operation in 1969 because so little has been done to implement it. Few families who were entitled to participate knew about it.

The states replied that such a program was a huge undertaking different from anything they had ever done. They said that it would require the establishment of medical services and involve carrying out a course of treatment.

Medicaid, under which the new health plan was set up, is a Federal-state program that provides benefits to groups defined as medically needy, such as the aged, blind and disabled.

### H.E.W. Aids States

Last year, H.E.W. began working more closely with the states, giving them technical assistance to expedite the program. At the same time, it was reviewing performance.

In July, 1974, the monetary penalty provision passed by Congress went into effect. The penalty consists of 1 per cent of the Federal contribution to the program of Aid to Families With Dependent Children for each quarter of the fiscal year that standards are not met. The penalty announced today covers the first quarter of the current fiscal year, from July through September, 1974.

The penalty has stirred up some controversy.

Gavin S. Courtney, project director of the Citizens Committee for Children, a private New York-based organization that has been most critical of the program, sees the penalties as a double-edged sword.

"On one hand, I am delighted to see that H.E.W. is finally and at long last following through with its regulations," he said in a telephone interview today.

"However, I have problems with punishing states that do not give adequate services to a disadvantaged population by withholding the money they use to provide other services to a disadvantaged population. What is the net effect of that?"

Mr. Weinberger said that the penalties had to be assessed because the department would be powerless to enforce the regulations if it did not.

"In each case, the state was warned that this would be a likely result if it did not comply with the statute," he said, adding, "The states were penalized because the Congress requires that they be penalized. The fact that I think it's a good idea is coincidental."

A state did not have to be giving the full range of services mandated to all eligible children to be ruled in compliance with the law, he said.

They did have to notify their populations that the services were available and that parents could request and receive both transportation and baby-sitting services to take advantage of the program. The states had to begin to screen and treat children who requested such care.

Up to July, 1974, a total of 1.5 million children had been tested medically and almost none had received follow-up treatment, according to figures from Dr. M. Keith Weikel, commissioner of medical services for H.E.W.

In the last six months of 1974, 700,000 more children were seen. The department hopes that two million more were tested and treated in the first six months of this year, but the statistics have not been compiled yet.

The size of the penalties are as follows: Hawaii $75,847; Indiana $143,516; Minnesota $280,997; Montana $27,889; New Mexico $70,646; North Dakota $26,206, and Pennsylvania $1,048,441.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much.

Our next panel consists of Dr. Bettye Caldwell, professor of education, University of Arkansas; and Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner, professor of human development and family studies.

If you will come up, please.

It might be well if you would place your statements in the record and make your points as you wish.

Proceed.

## STATEMENT OF DR. BETTYE CALDWELL, PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS AT LITTLE ROCK

Dr. CALDWELL. It is an honor to be here. I always feel excited at this aspect of participatory democracy, and yet I feel a certain sadness in being here in that I first testified for an earlier version of this bill in 1969 and several times since then. This leaves me with a feeling that I have not done enough somehow as a citizen and a professional to help get this extremely vital legislation passed.

I am also feeling very strange after hearing some of the contradictory aspects of the previous testimony. The first part seemed to me to deal very directly with what I was asked to concentrate on to some extent today; namely, the need for this kind of legislation. The children who are suffering are present in our country, and we need to recognize that we have to have programs that can help ameliorate some of this suffering.

It seems that today we have heard only about either dramatically difficult families or families who are functioning at a reasonably satisfactory level. We have not come face to face with some of the realities of the needs for the kinds of services called for in this bill—the lack of health care that many families have, the fact that so many children do grow up with a poverty childhood, the very sharp increase in the number of children being reared in one-parent families.

We have sat here and extolled the virtues of the family today, while out there in Washington and other parts of this country there are many children growing up with no conception of what this idealized nuclear family is like; they never have seen their father; they may not know who among a certain group is actually their mother, and so on.

This family that we are exalting is indeed worthy of that, but it does not always exist for vast numbers of children in our society, and we cannot afford to write off these children who do not have the opportunity to know what that deal is like.

Senator MONDALE. I think one statement was made that we have to stop looking down on mothers who are not in the upper class or who are not educated, or whatever. Is that what you are saying?

Dr. CALDWELL. Should we stop looking down at them?

Senator MONDALE. Should we?

Dr. CALDWELL. I do not really think we have looked down at them. I look at them directly very frequently and hear about their problems. There are an awful lot of people who are doing that.

In the previous statement, there was at least one contradiction that disturbed me, and I may never get through my own—and that was the concluding statement that we did have to stop looking down at undereducated parents, which to me totally is in conflict with the praise given to what I consider to be one of the most worthwhile studies in America; namely, the Phyllis Levenstein work which is basically a parent education program. Is Levenstein looking down at them? I do not think she is. I think she is strengthening families and enabling them to realize the importance of their task and is doing so in a way that has obviously had extremely beneficial results for the children.

In looking over something of the history of this legislation, it seems to me that part of our conflict—and I think the first Congressman who spoke reflected that—is that we are a society which has traditionally had a lot of concern for children, but we have also had a great deal of concern for preserving adult autonomy, and sometimes—you said this a few moments ago in a comment—when you preserve autonomy of adults to make all the decisions, to take all the actions, you may well occasionally be going that at the expense of the children.

But the term "family" is not just adults. It includes children and it is a social system, and what affects one part of it will indeed affect the whole system.

If the father loses his job, the mother and the children are going to suffer; if the mother takes a job or loses a job or in some way changes her role in that social system, then the children will be affected and the husband, if there is one, all will be affected.

When a child does not develop properly because of inadequate nutrition, poor health, and lack of stimulation, the parents are affected and, of course, when the family is affected, all of society becomes involved because children and families and communities are definitely interdependent.

We cannot afford to suppress our concern for children, the kind that we have heard described here today, for fear that any manifestation of this concern would weaken the family autonomy, for concern for part of the system actually represents concern for it all. The protection of autonomy may sometimes mean no more than making a great variety of services available so that families can exercise their autonomy in utilizing them.

At present our services to children and families are too few, too inaccessible to those who need them the most, and all too often available too late to be of maximum help.

I would suggest that the therapeutic kibbutz proposed to help rehabilitate those families would probably not be much more beneficial than other kinds of things that we have tried because it may well be that many of those families—that the kinds of services we had would have helped those families at an earlier point in time but would not really have much impact on them in view of the present overwhelming nature of the problems.

I would like to address some of my comments now specifically to different aspects of the bill.

I say facetiously that I think I have read the bill better than some of the other people who have spoken this morning. I really went through it with a fine-toothed comb and it seems to me that there are many excellent features of this bill that have been overlooked by some of the comments—by some of the people who have made comments here this morning, and I have four of five features of it that I would like to highlight.

The first one is that these bills are family based bills. These are not day care bills, and they are certainly not, in this perjorative sense that has been used, institutional day care bills. I do not like that term and I do not like the way it has been used at all.

But it seems to me that every word in that bill or those bills represents the attention of the developers to the fact that the family is the most fundamental and important influence on the child, thus, the primary objective of the bills is to strengthen the family.

Even changing of name of the Office of Child Development to the Office of Child and Family Services seems to do a good job of stressing this aspect of it.

Second, I like the fact that the services will be available only to families who request them. Again it seems to me that that has been forgotten here this morning. There appears to be an implication that people would be forced to utilize services available under this bill. The language throughout makes it clear that these services are mandatory, that they are to be offered only to the families who request them, and in that we offer the greatest protection for family autonomy.

Senator MONDALE. The bill says voluntary and you just said "mandatory."

Dr. CALDWELL. Voluntary. I beg your pardon. I meant to say that services would not be mandatory. They are voluntary and only to people who request them.

The third—and I am going to concentrate my remarks rather heavily on this—is that a variety of services will be available.

As I said this morning, it seems that everyone has implied that only day care is called for under these bills.

In section 102 you have mentioned that there will be part-day or full-day child care in home settings, group settings, and so on; there will be health, social, recreational activities, family services, including this vital free care and education that we have all talked about; prenatal, other medical care, special programs for children from different ethnic groups, and so on.

All of these things are in the bill and they are not just day care bills.

I appreciated Mrs. Chisholm's remarks—repeatedly statements have been made to remind us that we do need day care.

And, furthermore, I would like to stress something that she has touched upon. Yes; you need an educational component to day care, but the implication has been left here that if you have education you lose tender, loving care. You can be both educational and offer tender, loving care to children; this has been demonstrated time and time again in quality day care.

Your record for today is going to be so long, I would not like them to insert anything else, but I did bring along a paper that I have recently written called "Child Development and Social Policy," that I would like to have inserted because it offers something of a summary of research results relating to quality day care—and I stress that word "quality" because it is only the programs that have attempted to provide quality, that have been willing to permit scrutiny, willing to submit themselves to an objective assessment of really what went on and what kinds of changes in the children resulted.

Let me just run very briefly through what some of the data about day care really show, and I do not know where Representative McKay found the studies that he referred to. I think, as you suggested, that he was talking about the effect of residential institutional care, and today people have been referring to institutional day care—almost guilt by association there—and that is not deserved.

The data about day care shows such things as the following—and remember, I am talking about quality day care—they show that children in quality day care develop competence in skills that our society values, and the bill mentions in one place that we want reading remedies encouraged.

We know that children in day care can be kept healthy—again in a quality program. They do not get sick more often than they would if they were at home.

And we know that children in day care need not lose their attachment to their own mothers, this primary emotional attachment or relationship that is regarded as somewhat of a prototype of all other social relations.

Now, there was a study published during this past year that has been widely quoted. This study showed that there were some apparently anxious types of attachments shown by some children in day care in contrast to children who had been reared in their own homes.

To date I know of four studies—only four—in this important area. Two of them are published, two are unpublished. Out of the four only one has shown any kind of negative consequences in this area of attachment as it relates to day care.

Furthermore, in these two published studies, we have a total of only 81 children, only 40 of whom have been in day care, and it seems to me that this is far too small a sample to permit anybody to state definitively that day care does weaken attachment or causes anxious attachment, and so on. I have a longer comment on that point in the paper.

At present it seems to me that we are justified in saying that children in quality day care will not lose their attachment to their own mother.

They are also not going to become emotionally disturbed. Again there are several studies that have shown that children in day care show roughly the same range of emotional functioning that you will find in children in any setting. Sure you are going to find a few who have problems; you are going to find a few who are very well adjusted, but that the range will really tend to duplicate the range that you would find if you took a comparable group from similar backgrounds and experiences who are being reared in their own homes.

Another important statement that I think should be made about day care is that there is certainly no clash of values between those that are espoused by day care whether it is family based or group based and parents who need day care for their children.

Sometimes we hear an accusation leveled that, well, we are just trying to impose middle class values on children in day care programs. The values, the skills, the attitudes that people in day care centers do try to help inculcate into children are, by and large, the same values that the parents say that they espouse, that they want their children to develop in these ways.

So, just to summarize this section, I would not attempt to claim that any findings would necessarily be replicative if the research which produced the data had been done on just any day care program, family based or group based. I repeat that I am referring to quality programs.

This morning a number of statements were made pointing out the presumed superiority of family day care contrasted with the group type. I happen to believe in both kinds, and I merely want to try to set something of a research record straight here, and I would like to get back to the bill, but for the time.

Family day care is one of the most unresearched topics in America. This has been informal. Many of the studies have been where people have not had clear access to them and we really cannot point to any good research that compares children in family day care with group-based day care.

We think that we can operate quality programs in both sectors, but at this point in time certainly no one can make a case for the superiority of one kind over the other.

Now, before leaving this section of commenting on the diversity of the bills, I would like to support the statement made by Dr. Schaefer and others about the importance of parenting education or preparenting education, and I hope that will not be interpreted in any way as minimizing the quality of parenting offered by undereducated people.

But we really do—one of the statistics I have in the statement is the sharp increase in the number of births to young women under 19, under 18, and these are young people who have not really lived out their own childhood, if you will. They are suddenly faced with the task of becoming parents, of nurturing another very precious human being when they themselves are perhaps still seeking nurture from the important people around them, and many of them have not had any exposure to the simple informational things that help the child-rearing process become a bit easier.

A number of years ago a man named Vladimir deLissovoy did an interesting study on very young parents. It is one of our myths, I think, that young parents make good parents; they do not get as irritated as older parents and so on. That is part of the mythology. Dr. deLissovoy found just the opposite.

The young parents were often very harsh when they disciplined their children and they had very unrealistic expectations of what the children could do, such as they expected a child to be able to respond if they said, "No," when the children were only 3 months of age. And, of course, this led to crying and frustration and perhaps more punishment.

And it strikes you as being very ironic that many of these parents then were frustrated and the children undoubtedly put into a more difficult situation than they might have been otherwise due to the lack of information that could have been offered in a simple kind of junior high school course in parenting education or one offered by a well child clinic or a prenatal clinic, and so on.

So, very strongly, I endorse that aspect of the diversity of the bill.

Another point I would make is that these bills do provide for community involvement. This is kind of a 10th anniversary for Head Start. One of the things that we have learned in the

Head Start decade is that programs can neither be effectively designed nor implemented without counsel from and participation by the people who would be involved.

Furthermore, we have also learned that parents and the others who stand to gain the most from the operation of quality programs will work hard to insure quality and we have learned that they see interaction with child development professionals as one way to help maintain and achieve this quality.

So I like the fact that you have a national council, state child and family councils, and then councils within each program which will operate. This seems to me very important.

Another point of the bill that has not received comment is that it takes a stand for quality. I refer to research on day care that has attempted to provide quality. Well, by advocating standards and calling for monitoring, calling for some research and development programs, and setting aside some of the money for training, it does seem to me that you are making every effort to see to it that whatever kinds of programs get developed under the auspices of this bill, it will be a quality program.

In that context, I think the implications are that monitoring will be more or less of the child care program, but the parenting education activities that help the social services, all of these will need some kind of monitoring to help make certain that this sort of quality does indeed occur.

As part of the research trap that we fell into with Head Start, we began to evaluate it in dimensions that people did not really consider were terribly important, like the IQ. That was not the major objective, but we used these tests because they were available.

Well, we do not necessarily have the best instruments available for monitoring some of the subtle aspects of the programs that might be offered under the bill, and we need very much to give some thought to that.

As part of this, it seems to me that we need to monitor what I have come to call program fidelity, the extent to which an operational program actually resembles what is there on paper—not so much to look at outcome measure, how the children are doing, what the parents think, and so on, but to have some kind of monitoring that sees to it that the things that are called for do indeed get developed. It is easier sometimes to do things on paper than it is to implement them.

I would like to now to turn briefly to just a few questions that I had about the bills, and this may be due to my own difficulty in reading legal language, but one question that I had relates to the coordination of services to children and families.

The language of the bills makes it clear that there is no intent to infringe upon Head Start funding or to reduce in any way the extent of Head Start programs for children and families. Yet how the programs operated under these bills might interact with, say, title XX of the Social Security Act and titles I and III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is not clear. Plans for achieving coordination between and among such programs may already be in existence, but, if this is so, it is not evident in the language of the bills.

Now, another area needing clarification for me is this definition of "prime sponsor." This term always gives me trouble when I think of anything other than some official State organization.

Now, it seems to me that the bill does say that different organizations may be prime sponsors, and I heartily, enthusiastically endorse that. We do not want to start out with a monolithically organized system of service. I love the idea that different groups can be a prime sponsor, but how in a start-up period a prime sponsor or a group can organize to get services underway is not entirely clear, and it is possible that this has been left deliberately ambiguous, and indeed it is possible that I did not fully understand it, but this is an area that seems to me to need clarification.

I would like to summarize now my statement. I started out by reflecting a slight degree of impatience that despite diligent work by members of this committee and by many concerned people throughout the country we still have not passed a comprehensive Child and Family Services Act.

Our failure to do so seems totally implausible if one pauses even briefly to reflect on the overwhelming evidence of the acute need for such a bill, and we have heard a great deal of evidence of that sort today.

Although I hope that our wait is not quite so long, I find comfort in the thought that 13 years elapsed between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the ratification of our Constitution. I guess we do not make important policy decisions quickly.

Also, it always helps me—at least the older I get, the more interested I get in history—it helps to deal with frustration if one reflects on even more recent bits of history.

Legislation which established the Children's Bureau was passed in 1912. That was 3 years after fervent proponents had tried to get it established. Most of the supporters of this agency felt that the existence of such a bureau in the Federal Government would serve to challenge the individual States and activate them to do something on behalf of children.

But opponents of the existence of the Bureau, which can now be viewed as a major factor in the protection of children and the strengthening of families, managed to delay passage of this bill for 3 years. Their reason? Well, it will sound familiar. The reason was the Federal Government should not intervene in childrearing and the existence of such a bureau would weaken the family.

Yet were we to offer a tribute to the federal agency which during the past 60 years has done the most to help children and families in America, we would probably choose the Children's Bureau.

Perhaps any time we attempt to modify any social system which touches us deeply in an emotional way, like services to children and families, we hold back lest the worst of what might exist in the new compromise the best of the old. If this is a factor in our present national indecision and refusal to act in behalf of children and families, then it would behoove us again to reflect on the glaring and embarrassing evidence that has been discussed today and is all around us; that action is essential.

What we need in order to overcome our indecision and our inaction, it seems to me, is, first, a willingness to look at and believe the evidence of unmet needs of children and families in our society. We really do not like to look at it and when we see it, we do not like to believe it is true.

Then, secondly, we need to pledge some of our national resources and our national compassion to try and meet these needs, and I agree with the previous speaker that we always seem to manage to find funds for things that we really want or that some people want.

If, through such legislation as these bills, we can create a mechanism through which families, young or old, can obtain the services they need to help them rear their children with love and dignity, then we shall not have to be so concerned about whether, when, and how to intervene directly in behalf of children.

With an emphasis upon preventive programs—and I would like to stress that this is the kind of thing we really know how to do best—we can nurture both our concern for children and our traditional respect for parental autonomy. The services called for in this bill are preventive and supportive, and as a professional in the field of child development, as a parent, and as a citizen of this country, I hope to see them become a reality in the near future.

Thank you.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Dr. Caldwell, for an excellent statement.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Caldwell follows:]

## STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEES ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH, AND ON EMPLOYMENT, POVERTY AND MIGRATORY LABOR, AND THE HOUSE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

June 19, 1975

My name is Bettye Caldwell, and I am Professor of Education at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock and Director of the Center for Early Development and Education. The Center represents one miniscule effort in one particular setting, touching the lives of only a few children and families, to accomplish some of the objectives that are inherent in the Child and Family Service bills, S. 626 and H.R. 2966. Consequently it is entirely natural that I would heartily endorse the bills and urge their support and passage.

Any concerned citizen is always certain to be pleased and honored to be invited to appear before such a Committee, for it signifies an opportunity to experience the thrill of participatory democracy. Yet, in another way, the invitation to appear today serves to reinforce a feeling of failure to help accomplish something of utmost importance for our country--the passage of a bill which would help to ensure the optimal development of today's children who will be, of course, the citizens of tomorrow. For I first appeared before a similar Committee in the House of Representatives in 1969 and have appeared several times since then. And here it is, the middle of 1975, and we still have no comprehensive legislation of the sort needed to help our children and families through turbulent social times and difficult financial times. I ask myself how that can be, when, during this period, we have been flooded with information which highlights the intense need for such a bill. Information such as:

--higher infant mortality rates in our country than in 12 other countries.

--a poverty childhood for about one out of every six or seven children in the country

--lack of access to a private physician or other acceptable form of medical care for large numbers of infants and children (and mothers and fathers).

--an increase in the divorce rate of approximately 25% in the last five years.

--a sharp increase in the number of children born in one-parent families and likely to be so reared during childhood (rates ranging from about 1 out of 15-20 in some areas up to 1 out of 5 in others).

--a dramatic rise in the number of births to mothers younger than 20 (rate increasing at five times that for all other births in Texas), with many of these mothers not having finished high school.

--alarming statistics on child abuse, with far more unreported than reported cases undoubtedly occurring, and with neglect comprising the underneath part of the abuse-neglect iceberg and thus being far more common and more permicious.

--at least one-third of mothers with children under six working, with about three-fourths of those mothers working full-time and with four-fifths working out of sheer economic necessity.

--licensed day care facilities are available for fewer than one out of four of the young children whose mothers work.

One could go on and on citing such dismal statistics, but to do so is painful and embarrassing. I hate the thought that representatives of other nations, less affluent and presumably less "developed," might read them and reflect on how these things can be true in our society. How can such conditions exist in a country which generally boasts of its concern for children?

It seems to me that ours is indeed a country that has concern for its children, but it is also a nation which strongly values personal autonomy. And these two values can occasionally come into conflict. That is, we sometimes appear hesitant about developing plans which would help the children for whom we have concern out of fear that any action would represent an invasion of the domain of the family to make such plans and take such action. But in such an avoidance of planning and of action, we are implicitly defining "family" as "adults," which is not the case. The family is a system, and whatever affects part of it will, to some extent, affect all of it. When a father loses his job, the mother and the children are affected. When a mother takes a job, or is unable to find one, the children and the husband (if there is one) are affected. When a child does not develop properly because of inadequate nutrition, poor health care, or lack of stimulation, the parents are affected. And, of course, when the family is affected, all of society becomes involved in one way or another. For children and families and communities are all interdependent. We cannot afford to suppress our concern for children out of fear that any manifestation of such concern would weaken family autonomy, for concern for part of the system actually represents concern for it all. And the protection of autonomy need sometimes mean no more than making a greater variety of services available so that families can exercise their autonomy in utilizing them. At present, our services to children and families are too few, too inaccessible to those who need them most, and, all too often, available too late to be of maximum help.

## How These Bills Can Help

The bills currently being discussed by this Committee would represent a major step in the direction of giving families and children the kind of help needed to obliterate some of the depressing statistics cited above. I say this for the following reasons:

1. S. 626 and H.R. 2966 are family-based bills. The language of these bills, their letter and their spirit, all recognize the primacy of the family as a major influence in the life of a child. As I interpret the bills, they will provide for services which will strengthen families and will make the task of parenting (and also presumably the task of "childing") easier. There are several important semantic developments associated with the bills which signify a more mature level of thinking about the types of services needed in this country--the very title of the bills themselves ("Child and Family Services Act"), and the proposed change of name for the current Office of Child Development to the "Office of Child and Family Services" represent examples of this maturing. The philosophy that services to be provided under this act will be undertaken as a "partnership of parents, community, private agencies and State and local government with appropriate supportive assistance from the Federal Government" says in effect that the adequate protection of our human resources cannot be assured unless we are all involved in the task. This total involvement is essential, and its presence in the bills is commendable.

2. Services will be available to all families who request such services. Much of the legislation passed to benefit children and families is of the categorical type, with stringent restrictions placed on utilizations of appropriated funds. Although these bills specify certain proportionate priorities (e.g., 65% economically disadvantaged), the eligibility requirements are not so binding as to exclude any group of families desiring to participate. This means that ethnic, social class, and cultural mixes will be more possible and more likely to occur in programs established under the bills. We do not need new programs that set one group of children and adults apart from other groups. Proposed patterns of funding allow for payment of services according to family income, and this should facilitate the utilization of services provided under these bills by families at all economic levels. Although there are obviously some children and families who need services more than

other families do, if a service program is to be comprehensive it should be available to everyone who desires service rather than leave some groups at the periphery, resentful at not being included.

3. A variety of services will be available. This is a most important aspect of the proposed bills, for there is no one exclusive pattern of service needed by families in today's complex world. Mentioned in Section 102 of the Senate version of the bill are: part-day or full-day child care in different settings; health, social, and recreational activities; family services, including pre-parent education, which I consider vital and essential; social services; prenatal and other medical care; special programs for children from ehtnic groups; nutritional services; screening and diagnosis; programs designed to ameliorate handicaps; extension of early childhood programs upward into the elementary grades; and coordination of programs with those operated by other agencies. This anticipated program diversity should be stressed in all news releases about the bills, for all too many people seem to interpret the proposed programs as involving only child care.

Lest that comment be misinterpreted, I hasten to stress just how important the child care services which would be made available through the bills actually are to families in America. We know from the findings of Mary Dublin Keyserling's important survey of day care facilities in America such things as the fact that:

--most working mothers with young children do not have access to quality day care but must use what is available, which is often essentially custodial care.

--most mothers who work do so because of economic necessity, and debates about whether mothers "should" or "should not" work are often irrelevant to the economic realities of the family situation.

--low income families are usually hit hardest by a shortage of good day care.

--unsubsidized day care is beyond the reach of all but a few working parents.

--the type of day care available to moderate income families is most likely to be proprietary and to be in centers not always offering developmental services.

--family day care homes are often arranged on an informal basis and are beyond any sort of public monitoring process which could help ensure quality.

--day care services, because of either neighborhood realities or restrictive eligibility requirements, are often almost totally segregated racially, ethnically, and economically.

Even though community consciousness about day care has been rising in recent years, resulting in constantly improved community training programs and standards, the "facts" about existing day care facilities highlighted in the Keyserling study have not changed drastically since the publication of the report. During this time, however, more systematic studies relating to carefully organized and operated day care programs have been published, and we can now chronicle a few facts that relate to the effects on children of participating in quality day care programs. I stress the word "quality" and hasten to indicate that by that term I am referring to programs which attempt to involve families and to offer a wide array of developmental services. Unfortunately, it is only such programs that get formally evaluated, for only those people involved in an attempt to create quality programs are likely to be willing to submit to the objective scrutiny required for a formal evaluation. It should be noted here that all the studies referred to dealt with group day care, not family day care. Ages of children involved will be referred to in discussing the different generalizations. From such studies at least the following tentative generalizations can be offered:*

(1) Children in quality day care can develop competence in skills considered adaptive and beneficial to themselves and society. In all the R & D programs in which evaluative data have been published, children either show cognitive gains or else remain on a par with children from comparable backgrounds who are not in day care. In general one can say that the more the day care environment represents additional stimulation and enrichment in relation to the daily environment in which the child would otherwise function, the greater the likelihood that gains will be found associated with day care participation. It is extremely important to comment that not a single published study has shown a decline in the functioning level of children in day care. This is true for groups entering day care prior to or after the age of three. This finding should offer considerable reassurance to those who feared that day care was in some way similar to institutional (residential) care. From the vantage point of the young child, they are apparently entirely different experiences.

(2) Children in quality day care can be kept healthy. We know that advances in immunology have made bringing infants and children together into groups less hazardous than used to be the case. But as yet we have no immunizations which protect us from respiratory viruses and infections--the most typical illnesses in young

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*For detailed documentation of these findings, see the author's paper, "Child Development and Social Policy."

children. However, infants in day care do not appear to have significantly more of these "minor" illnesses than do children being cared for in their homes.

(3) Children in day care need not lose their attachment to their own mothers. To date the author knows of two published and at least two unpublished studies dealing with this question--a most important one. Only one of the four research studies has shown any negative consequences associated with day care participation; in the other three, day care children appeared as attached to their mothers as were the control children. This is a most important area of research, and many more studies of this sort need to be done before definitive statements can be made. As things now stand, proponents of day care tend to cite the study (Caldwell and her associates) which found no differences between the day care and the home-reared children, and opponents of day care tend to cite the study (Blehar) which reported differences. In these two studies combined, only 81 children were included--a number that is far too small to use as a basis for establishing social policy. In the monitoring of programs called for under the present bills, it is hoped that this extremely important developmental area will receive considerable attention.

(4) Young children who participate in day care do not become emotionally disturbed. To people knowledgeable about how happy children lucky enough to be enrolled in quality day care generally are, such a "null hypothesis" statement must sound strange. This generalization is included only because of the assumption made by many that day care would duplicate the emotionally depriving conditions which prevailed for many years in residential institutions. Studies done in day care settings, in which daily reunions with significant family members occur, generally cover the same range of emotional functioning likely to be found in any group of children of comparable age from a comparable family background.

(5) There is not necessarily a clash between the values espoused in homes of children in day care and those values which guide the operation of quality day care programs. One frequently hears the charge leveled that in our early intervention programs we are trying to "impose middle class values on people with other value systems." By and large this charge is totally false, as most parents want similar things for their children--essentially an opportunity to develop their full potentials and to be happy in their daily lives. Apparently the values for children and families imbedded in the philosophy of most child care centers are the values which most parents endorse and strive themselves to exemplify in their own child care routines.

To summarize this section, I would not attempt to claim that these findings would necessarily be replicated if, in the research which produced the data, just "any" day care programs had been evaluated; I repeat that, in so far as we now know how to define quality, those data refer to quality programs. However, the findings do indeed reassure us that, if we strive for quality and demonstrate a willingness to study, to work, and to train that child care can provide a much-needed service to families without in any way jeopardizing the development of the children. Although few efforts have been made to evaluate the effects of quality day care upon families, there is little doubt but that the findings would be equally reassuring. This is especially true for families with limited resources--perhaps most valid for those who represent the one-parent family situation. Many such parents report that day care "holds their family together," and undoubtedly without quality child care many more children would be in foster placement or offered for adoption, or even more tragic cases of child abuse or neglect would occur. In many ways, it represents a concerned society's attempt to develop a viable substitute for the now almost extinct extended family. Thus in thinking about day care, we need to conceptualize it as a family service, not as a totally child-oriented service.

Before leaving this section commending the bill for the diversity of planned services which would be available under its auspices, I should like especially to comment on the importance of allowing funds from the bill to be expended to develop programs of pre-parent or parenting education. This type of service should receive top priority today. Such programs need to be offered under a variety of auspices — public school (junior high and high school), prenatal clinics, well-child clinics, churches, community organizations, and so on. The most powerful message that has screamed at us for all the social science literature of the last decade has proclaimed, "The family constitutes the most important environment in which a child will ever function." In view of this, it is essential that this message reach young people both before they become parents and repeatedly afterwards, always with the refrain, "What you do with, for, and to your child is terribly important; don't take this assignment lightly; prepare yourself for it in every way possible."

Earlier in this statement I mentioned the sharp increase in incidence of births to girls under 18-19 years of age. One of our sterotypes is that"young mothers make the best mothers," and, to be sure, some young mothers may be among the "best" mothers. But we also have data (deLissovoy) to indicate that young parents, mothers and fathers, often enter the child-care "profession" with gross misconceptions of what is involved, what their roles will be, and what they can expect of their children. Many young parents in this study had inaccurate expectations as to when certain landmark behaviors should appear and thus made unrealistic demands on their young children. Also many of them were found to be harsh and unyielding in their discipline, with this due in some part to their tendency to underestimate when a child could be expected to understand language. Thus parents were frustrated, and children often overly punished, because the parents lacked knowledge which could easily have been gained in a high school course in child development.

There are many other admirable features of the bills which relate to this feature of program variety and diversity. For example, I am pleased to see the bills state that the day care called for will include care "in the child's own home, in group homes, or in other child care facilities..." It is easy to fall into the trap of thinking "group care" when one speaks of "day care." Also it is encouraging to see that the child care provided under the bills may be "part-day or full-day." The needs of families shift from time to time, and a too-rigid plan of service will not meet the needs of all families or of the same family from time to time. For example, we speak of "maternal employment" as though it were for any given mother a continuous state of affairs. But there are jobs of shorter and longer duration, and there are employees who decide to change jobs but might have open times between. I have known of situations in which mothers who were "between jobs" withheld this information from the day care center attended by their children because the center served "only children whose mothers work full-time." Thus an interlude in which the mother and children could have been at home together was forfeited because of a rigid service pattern which perhaps because of program guidelines, could not be made flexible enough to adapt to the changing needs of families.

As a final comment in this section I should like to mention that we must not forget the importance of having some programs geared to the interests and needs of fathers as well as mothers. Please do not interpret that as a suggestion from me that the interests of fathers and mothers with respect to their family roles are all that different. Nevertheless, it is easy to drift into a vocabulary that is all female. Thus along with "services to expectant mothers who cannot afford such services" and "postpartum and other medical services to recent mothers" I would hope that there will be services to fathers, expectant and otherwise, and informational programs which remind us all that fathers also play a vital role in the development of their children. It would be a mistake to overlook this as we plan for program diversity.

4. The bills mandate community involvement. One of the things we have learned about human service programs over the past decade or so is that such programs can neither be effectively designed nor implemented without counsel from and participation by the people who will be involved. Furthermore, we have also learned that parents and others who stand to gain the most from operation of quality programs will work hard to ensure quality and that they see interaction with child development professionals as one way of helping to achieve this quality. The establishment of Child and Family Councils at the national level, at the level of prime sponsorship in a given state, and at the level of program operation appears to me to be one of the best guarantees that programs funded under this bill will have an opportunity to impact children and families in positive ways.

5. The bills take a stand for quality through the advocacy and the monitoring of program quality. A spectre which apparently haunts many concerned people is that federal agencies will fund more child care and make only the most limited attempts to guarantee that this will be anything other than "custodial." This is the sort of fear which causes some people to whithhold endorsement of programs for children and families -- the fear that quality cannot be guaranteed. To be sure, quality cannot be achieved by legislation alone, but legislation can guarantee that concerted efforts will be made to achieve quality. With respect to child care which will be operated under these bills, endorsement of the Federal Interagency Day Care Standards provides a wedge for attempting to assess quality. However, as stressed in the previous section, many different types of programs are allowed under the provisions of these bills. How will quality be assessed in the parent education programs? In the health programs? In the functioning of the Child and Family Councils?

The bill has provisions for withdrawing support from a program or from a prime sponsor if evidence is forthcoming that quality is not being achieved. Yet a great deal more thought needs to be given to this critical area. In Head Start and other types of early childhood programs we have had to recognize the hazards associated with program evaluation which relies too completely on readily available techniques;

sometimes assessments were made of behaviors in which we were not particularly interested merely because techniques which would measure these behaviors were available. Then we found ourselves in the untenable position of having to defend data to which we had no major social committment and of trying to make policy decisions about gains (or lack of them) in irrelevant dimensions. And, as part of this research trap, we often failed to try and make any assessments of what I have come to call program fidelity — the extent to which an operational program actually resembles its on-paper description. Monitoring of program fidelity is as important as, if not more important than, an attempt to monitor program effectiveness; neither should be neglected as final plans are approximated.

6. The bills make provision for research and demonstration projects and training activities. In commenting on this aspect of the bills I shall be brief and merely compliment the authors for specifying that some of the funds to be appropriated should be allocated to training and to research and demonstration projects. In the same way that quality is ensured by having Child and Family Councils, so will new growth and program improvement occur only if a certain portion of effort is allotted to research and development. Furthermore, it is good to see this as part of the basic structure of the legislation. This means that prime sponsors will recognize the importance of such activities if quality is to be imporved, much as industrial leaders recognize that a certain portion of their resources must be allocated to research and development. It should also encourage the adoption of a wholesome attitude which says in effect that all operational programs should constantly assess their needs and try to evaluate their achievements in order to be oriented to ways of improving service quality through internally-initiated action rather than through some sort of outside push.

## Some Questions About The Bills

Having read through earlier versions of these bills and having identified areas in which the current versions appear to me to be vastly improved, I have little to say about areas in which I might like to see them changed. In fact, I cannot identify any area needing improvement (except that I would like to see funding projected at a higher level). However, there are a few areas in which I feel clarification is needed either in terms of the language of the bills or in terms of the implications for effective implementation of the intent of the bills.

One such area relates to the coordination of services to children and families. The language of the bills makes it clear that there is no intent to infringe upon Head Start funding or to reduce in any way the extent of the Head Start programs to children and families. Yet how these programs might interact is not made clear. Furthermore, little is said about programs for children and families operated by other federal agencies, especially Title IV-A of the Social Security Act (soon to be superseded by Title XX) and programs funded under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, especially Titles I and III. Plans for achieving coordination between and among such programs may already be in existence, but, if so, this is not evident in the language of the current bills.

Another area needing clarification, at least for me, is the definition of "prime sponsor." This term always gives me trouble when I think of anything other than some official state organization as being the prime sponsor--and such can apparently be the case. Especial clarification is needed when one thinks about the start-up or planning period before a prime sponsor shall have been designated for a given area. Who can take such responsibility until this designation has been made? I hope that this has been left somewhat ambiguous in order to let many different kinds of organizations find themselves in the written description of prime sponsor, for I should like to see such programs offered under a variety of auspices. Also further clarification is needed about how prime sponsors can contract with other organizations to offer services. Apparently other non-profit agencies may provide some of the services called for in the bills, whereas private-for-profit groups may not. In such a provision recognition needs to be made of the fact that many so-called proprietary (for profit) child care programs operate on such a low profit margin that they can barely continue operation. The myth that most of these dedicated people are merely out to "take advantage of" children and families is a myth and nothing more and should not be perpetuated by any sort of legislation. Perhaps this impression could be corrected by an indication of willingness to permit such programs to offer contracted services provided they file some kind of financial statement which shows no evidence of excessive profits.

Although one might mention other possible questions about the proposed legislation, these are the major areas which I perceive as needing clarification.

## Summary

I began this statement with comments reflecting a slight degree of impatience that, despite diligent work by members of this Committee and by many concerned people throughout the country, we still have not passed a comprehensive Child and Family Services Act. Our failure to do so seems totally implausible if one pauses even briefly to reflect on the overwhelming evidence of the acute need for such a bill. Although I hope that our wait is not quite so long, I find comfort in the thought that 13 years elapsed between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the ratification of our Constitution. We do not make important policy decisions quickly!

Also it always helps one to deal with frustration if one reflects on even more recent bits of history. Legislation which established the Children's Bureau was passed in 1912--some three years after fervent proponents had tried to get it established. Most of the supporters of the agency felt that the existence of such a Bureau in the Federal Government would serve to challenge the individual States to develop their own progressive child welfare legislation. But opponents of the existence of the Children's Bureau--now viewed as a major factor over these past sixty-plus years in the protection of children and the strengthening of families--managed to delay passage of the bill creating the Bureau for three years. Their reason? The federal government should not intervene in child-rearing, and the existence of such a Bureau would weaken the family. It all sounds familiar, does it not? Yet, were we to offer a tribute to the federal agency which, during the past sixty years, has done the most to help children and families in America, which agency would we choose? Why, the Children's Bureau, of course.

Perhaps any time we attempt to modify any social system which touches us deeply in an emotional way--like services to children and families--we hold back lest the worst of what might exist in the new compromise the best of the old. If this is a factor in our present national indecision and refusal to act in behalf of children and families, then it would behoove us again to reflect on the glaring and embarrassing evidence that is all around us that action is essential.

What we need in order to overcome our indecision and inaction is, first, a willingness to look at and believe the evidence of unmet needs of children and families in our society, and then, second, a willingness to pledge some of our national resources and our national compassion to try and meet these needs. If through such legislation as these bills we can create a mechanism through which families, young or old, can obtain the services they need to help them rear their children with love and dignity, then we shall not have to be concerned about whether, when, and how to intervene directly in behalf of children. With an emphasis upon preventive programs, we can nurture both our concern for children and our traditional respect for parental autonomy. The services called for in this bill are preventive and supportive, and as a professional in the field of child development, as a parent, and as a citizen I hope to see them become a reality in the near future.

Senator MONDALE. Dr. Bronfenbrenner, we will hear from you, and then we will question you as to what we have.

## STATEMENT OF DR. URIE BRONFENBRENNER, PROFESSOR OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND FAMILY STUDIES, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, N.Y.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. If you will allow me, I will read excerpts of my statement. I can read faster than I can talk, and it will also help me to control my feelings on a subject——

Senator MONDALE. The full statement will appear in the record.

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. I am aware of that.

I have spent more than a quarter of a century in more than as many countries studying children and families. This is the country I love. I am proud of it.

In preparation for this session, I reviewed my previous testimony to congressional hearings on this same subject. The statements go back over a decade, and they do not make pleasant reading. I sound like a broken record about broken families and broken children.

But there is an important difference. For example, in 1969 in testifying before the House Committee on Education and Labor, I began by trying to explain the difficult position in which I then found myself as a scientist.

"Suppose," I said, "that you were an astronomer studying the solar system and, as you examined your own observations and those of your colleagues, you began to see some clear indication that the solar system was falling apart?" My predicament was how to convey to nonscientists the reality and gravity of the phenomena I was observing.

Mr. Chairman, today I no longer have that problem. The disturbing signs that 6 years ago could only be detected by an astronomer looking through a telescope can now be seen by the naked eye, and I am submitting with my testimony material prepared as a member of the Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences, and the report documents graphically so that all can see the changes that have taken place in the past quarter century for American families and their children, mainly and most rapidly since 1968. There are some 17 graphs.

Even more important than the sharp rise or fall that each shows individually is the picture that emerges when one puts them all together. The pattern is unmistakable.

A few highlights: As more mothers have gone to work—over half are mothers of school-age children, one-third with children under 6, and 30 percent with infants under 3; two-thirds of all these mothers are working full time—as these mothers have gone to work, the number of adults left in the home who might care for the child has been decreasing to a national average of two reached in 1974—in families with children.

Chief among the departing adults has been one of the parents, usually the father, so that today one out of every six children under 18 is living in a single-parent family. This is often not a temporary state, since on a national scale the remarriage rate, especially for women with children who are least likely to remarry, is substantially lower than the rate of divorce in families involving children, and this differential has been increasing.

A significant component in the growth of single-parent families has been a sharp rise in the number of unwed mothers. More young women are postponing the age of marriage, but some of them are having children nevertheless, and it is one of the steepest rising curves in these graphs.

All of these changes are occuring more rapidly among younger families with younger children, and increase with the degree of economic deprivation and urbanization, reaching their maximum among low-income families living in the central core of our largest cities.

Senator **MONDALE.** Dr. Bronfenbrenner, that point about urbanization indicated something. I think it helps explain what Congressman McKay said, because there is a different perception in rural areas or communities.

Dr. **BRONFENBRENNER.** I am sorry, I missed the Congressman's statement.

Senator **MONDALE.** It is sometimes difficult for people living in rural areas—and I represent many rural areas and grew up in a small town—to see what it is that Mrs. Chisholm is talking about, and it is hard for people in urban areas to see why——

Dr. **BRONFENBRENNER.** They cannot see that.

Senator **MONDALE.** They do not understand what they are up against, because in many ways it is a different world.

Dr. **BRONFENBRENNER.** I would say, Mr. Chairman, that that problem may be solved for us because the data that I reviewed show that it is coming into the countryside. It is not there yet.

Among families with children under 18 and incomes under $4,000, and such families, I point out, contain 6 million children, almost a tenth of the national total, the proportion of single parents rose over the past 6 years from 42 percent in 1968 to 67 percent in 1974. In central cities, the rate of family disruption for this same low income group is over 80 percent—over 80 percent for the U.S. home, for whites as well as blacks in that income group in that location.

And this last fact represents a concrete instance of a very important general finding. Although levels of labor force participation, single-parenthood, and other related variables are substantially higher for blacks than for whites in our society, those families residing in similar economic and social settings are similarly affected. The rate of change are exactly the same where these people are living under the same conditions. The critical factor is not race, but the conditions under which people are forced to live.

Among these conditions, Mr. Chairman, low income, especially unemployment, appears to be the most powerful force in breaking up families, especially young couples with younger children. This fact has an obvious implication for present economic and manpower policies.

I point to the latest Bureau of Labor Statistics report which, contrary to the New York Times of a month ago saying, "We do not have to worry. The only people who are being thrown out of the labor force are women and teenagers." We now have to worry. The biggest rates of increase in the last few months have been heads of families.

Now, this fact has an obvious implication for our present economic and manpower policies. So long as they remain in effect, we can anticipate as one consequence ever higher numbers of young children with only one parent, almost always the mother, who must also be the breadwinner, but "winner" is hardly the appropriate term.

There is no more revealing, no more objective measure of our national indifference to children or to those responsible for their care than this: According to the most recent figures reported by the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, the median income for the United States as a whole of all single-parent mothers with children under 6, income from all sources, including wages, welfare payments, and regular contributions from relatives or other persons not living in the household, everything, was less than $3,600 per year for the United States as a whole.

Economic deprivation is even more extreme for the single-parent mother under the age of 25. Such a mother, when all her children were small, that is, under 6, has to make do with a median income of $2,700. These are census figures. Yet there are more than 1½ million mothers in this age group and they constitute one-third of all female-headed families with children under 6.

By way of contrast, constructive contrast, the median income for the small proportion—there are now 850 million of them—of father-headed single-parent families with preschool children of the same age was $9,500, which proves to you how much worth a father is than a mother for bringing up kids.

It is important to recognize, Mr. Chairman, that the trends that I have been describing are not limited to low income families. They apply to all strata of the society.

Middle-class families in cities, suburbia, and, as I mentioned, now in nonurban areas, they are changing in similar ways. To give you an example: In terms of such characteristics as the proportion of working mothers, number of adults in the home, single-parent families, or children born out of wedlock, the middle class family of today is where the low income family of the early 1960's was. We are the low income families of the 1960's now. These, then, are the changes that have been taking place.

So what? Or what do these changes mean for the well-being and growth of children? What does it mean for the young that more and more mothers, especially mothers of preschoolers and infants, are going to work, the majority of them full time? What does it mean that as these mothers leave for work there are also fewer adults in the family who might look after the child, and that among the adults who are leaving, the principal departer is one or the other parent, usually the father?

Paradoxically, the most telling answer to the foregoing questions is yet another question, the title of my testimony: "Who Cares for America's Children? Who Cares?"

I will skip the recital of the existing facilities. I merely want to call to your attention that there are 1½ million latch-key children who come home to empty houses and it is from them that we recruit for our society the children who experience difficulties in learning to read and who are dropouts, the drug users, or juvenile delinquents who come home to an empty house.

Unfortunately, statistics at a national level on the state of the child are woefully absent. The available data do reveal a consistent pattern. Concomitant and consistent with the changes in structure and position of the family are changes in indices reflecting the well-being and development of children.

Youngsters growing up in low-income families are at especially high risk of damage physically, intellectually, emotionally, and socially, and there is also evidence of change over time: Declining levels of academic performance, and rising rates of child homicide, suicide, drug use, and juvenile delinquency.

I call your attention to an excellent report produced by the Subcommittee of the Judiciary entitled "Our Nation's Schools' Report Card: A in School Violence and Vandalism," with a detailed documentation of what has been happening between 1970 and 1973.

Senator MONDALE. We will include that in our——

Dr. BRONFENBRENNER. It is an excellent report.

Returning to your bill: It is no mystery from what I have said where I stand on the bill. I just wish the bill had been passed the first time ever so many years ago. It is a much better bill now.

As responsible national leaders, you have properly recognized the necessity to develop a cure before the disease becomes an epidemic.

I have read the bill, however, with mixed reactions of praise and pain—praise, because with a physician's care and wisdom, you have prescribed exactly the right medicines to cure this national affliction, and that is to strengthen the family, allow it to survive—pain, because I fear that once again other priorities will prevail.

There will be those who will say that the medicine costs too much, that we cannot afford it, and that even if we could, we should not let the patient have it, because providing family and child care at national expense, so the argument runs—and you have heard it today—will inevitably take us down the road of creeping socialism to crushing communism and the end of our freedoms.

As one who has had first experience with the so-called socialist democracies and is not exactly enthusiastic about them, because I know what evil they can do, I should like to respond to this criticism at the end of my remarks.

But first I wish to address a more responsible challenge, one that at least does not dodge the issue before us: The fate of the Nation's children and their families.

There are professionals who sincerely believe, and they have testified here, that the cure you have prescribed, Mr. Chairman, is worse than the disease, that providing child care and other services for working mothers and families under severe economic or social stress is actually destructive to families and children. Specifically, such measures will only further weaken the mother-child relationship and thereby threaten the child's emotional security and subsequent personality development.

This is a question that merits and has received considerable consideration. In connection with the work of the National Academy that I mentioned previously, I was asked to review the available research evidence—this is now for the second time in a decade that I have been given that responsibility—on the effects on the child's development of different types of care, in particular, home care versus substitute care in group or family settings.

I am submitting with my testimony the results of that inquiry.

I want to say that because, as a committee, we are able to bring together more evidence than was available to my distinguished colleague—and touched very briefly—perhaps in questions if you want me to go into it further, the findings in three areas, intellectual, emotional, and social.

In the intellectual sphere—these are well-controlled, well-designed studies—no difference. Repeat: No difference.

In the emotional sphere—I will go into greater detail if you so desire, but I would like to summarize in this fashion: The point has already been made that the studies of children in institutions are not applicable to this phenomenon. Children in institutions are at great risk. It is a serious problem, but that is not what one finds in the majority of cases in substitute care in which you have a stimulating environment by experienced caretakers with only a temporary separation from the mother. We are in a different ballgame.

Studies on that phenomenon, as I said, show no differences intellectually. Emotionally, there are some differences but these have tended to be small in magnitude, short-lived—that is, apparent, for example, only in the morning of the first day of attendance, and mixed in terms of advantages or disadvantages attributable to one or the other setting, and I can document what those are.

The clearest area of difference is not in the emotional area. There are consistent differences now from half a dozen well-designed studies and they are all in the social area, that youngsters raised in group care interact more with their peers, are somewhat less responsive to adult discipline, and exhibit more aggression, both toward other children and toward adults, and the evidence suggests—and I want to emphasize this—that such behaviors are not the inevitable products of group care, but they are specific to American group care—American day care, which, like all peer groups in American society, tends to give priority and power to the peer group and allows great freedom for aggression. So this is not group care; this is America moving in from television to the group care, if you want. From the rest of our society—we make the group care like the rest of it, and we are an aggressive society.

Finally, it should be emphasized that all of these results that we got compare good day care with good home care. That is not the major dilemma in American society.

And, by the way, the differences that do appear are not between substitute care and care by own family. They are between large, all-day group care and family day care. There are now some studies and that comparison is pretty good.

Whatever the differences may be and wherever they occur, they are not the real issue that confronts our families and our future. The principal dilemma that parents face is not the choice, the luxurious choice of whether to enroll a child in group care, arrange for family day care, or keep him at home with us, but the necessity—and I repeat the necessity—to find some form, any form, of substitute care in a reality situation in which few resources are available.

A third document submitted to the committee contains the figures on the number of children in the United States at risk. I ask that you look at those figures because you will find them larger than those published in the U.S. Census, because the U.S. data on children, when you look at such factors as employment and income, are limited to children of so-called family heads. That leaves out several million parents who do not happen to be family heads. You see, we are a society that believes properly that the only one who really counts is the family head when you count his children. Lots of people who are not family heads have children. This table is important because it includes all the children, not just those of family heads.

By "at risk," I mean children in families who are forced to live under circumstances that they would never wish to have. They are not part of their culture; they are not their choice. They have no plumbing; they have no health care; they have no place to sleep. There is only one person and that person has to work because they are the only persons who can work. These are children in desperation, and it is—how shall I say—my very conservative criterion that there are 4 million kids that fall in that category.

The statement was made this morning that most American children are being cared for at home, you know, with nice aunts and grandmothers. There are some statistics on that and you know them, the report on child care arrangements of working mothers. I want you to look at that care.

Teenage dropouts on drug charges who are watching the kids while mother goes to work; incapacitated old people; a neighbor three floors up—"Will you look in once in a while?" That is the family care available.

Family day care, group day care, are the rarest of all arrangements today—the rarest.

Given these facts, you can have little doubt about my views on the bill, Mr. Chairman. As I quoted earlier, I regard it as an absolute necessity. It does not go far enough in being human. It does not go far enough.

I understand why. We feel we will be—lucky if we can go this far.

There is little in it with which I would take issue, but I do have some concerns.

First, I understand that you are under some pressure to designate public schools as the sole operating agents of child care programs. I welcome the participation of schools as specified in the bill. I have serious reservations about schools as the sole operating agents.

Viewed from a cross-cultural and historical perspective, schools in the United States are not, in my judgment, well suited to this task—solely. The responsibility of the school in our country has been the teaching of subject matter, typically with minimal interference from, or involvement with, the child's family.

As a result, schools may find it difficult, and have found it difficult, to reorient their organizational structure, their attitudes, their characteristic modes of operation so as to be sensitive and responsive not only to the special—and they are special—emotional and social needs of the very young, but more importantly, to the needs and rights of parents to monitor, to influence, to interfere in, and to be active participants in the program for their own children.

Similar cautions apply, perhaps with even greater force, to profit-making agencies engaged in child care. In particular, the need for efficiency of operation invites the all-too-easy and readily justifiable solution of reducing adult-child ratios. Strict controls should be introduced, subject to parental initiative and enforcement—parental initiative and enforcement. I would suggest to you that parents are the best ones to hold an operation to its contract if this is what they said they would provide for the children.

And I would suggest that licensing is most important for profit-making centers.

I would like to commend the authors of the act for many things. I will select some that I think the public needs to appreciate:

The sensitivity to the plight of those families who are left in a highly vulnerable position under the present welfare laws. I refer to families with incomes just above the poverty line who, as a result, are ineligible for everything and still need everything, and they cannot afford it. They make just enough to live on.

The definition of eligibility under the present act in terms of the "lower living standard budget" determined annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics represents a much needed, humane reform in our welfare practices.

I want to commend the committee for providing freedom of choice by admitting that part-time work is working. Up until now a working mother had to be working full-time, no options. At least we recognize the realities that a mother wants to work and wants to be a mother and, therefore, has the right to have both worlds by working part-time.

I want to emphasize the needs of the families at greatest risk, and I want to make especially salient to you that it is not enough to put services there. The thing about these families is it is like saying to someone who has a broken leg, "Walk to the hospital. They will fix you up.

We desperately need what I would call neighborhood research specialist, someone who will come to that family, help it through that awful red tape, take it, fight and bang the table for their legitimate entitlements and rights in our society. They are so broken that they cannot do that under their own power now. None of us could. There, but for the grace of God.

I like the permission for that kind of element in the bill, and as high as the regard I have for Phyllis Levenstein's program, in my evaluation of those programs that I did for the Department of HEW, I selected this program as an outstanding one, but it has, in terms of the national need, a very grievous limitation. When you look at the families who are able to cooperate in that very constructive effort, they were the least disadvantaged. They were not at high risk. They were families that, you know, had been treated reasonably decently.

To be able to cooperate and have a visitor come into your home twice a week—one of the major problems that Susan Gray (phonetic) encountered was there were people who could not stand the pain of having someone see their home twice a week. They are not in Phyllis Levenstein's program. They care too much about something else.

Well, let me close.

I say some things here about the importance of research. I will let my own research evidence speak for its necessity.

I want to sound a final sobering, realistic note. Despite the desperate situation confronting millions of the Nation's children and their families, the much needed legislation you have drafted ultimately faces the strong likelihood of a presidential veto that the Congress will not be able to override.

Given this prospect, I strongly urge the development of fallback legislation providing funds for innovation, demonstration, and testing of a variety of family support systems, including not only different types of child care services, but also measures such as flexible work schedules which would enable parents who wish to do so to care for their children in their own homes without economic penalty, and wherever possible such support systems should enlist the volunteer efforts of institutions and individuals in activities designed to enhance opportunity and status for parenthood.

In conclusion, I promised, Mr. Chairman, to return to the issue of economics and ideology, to speak to the charge that we cannot afford the costs of the proposed program, and that even if we could, we should refuse to do so lest we become a welfare state or worse.

In reply, I would call to the attention of the committee and of the Congress the commitment of other industrialized nations of the world to children and families as contrasted with our own.

The United States today, Mr. Chairman, is the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that does not insure health care for every family with young children. We are the only one now.

The United States is the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that does not guarantee a minimum income level for every family with young children. We are the only one.

The United States is the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that has not yet established a nationwide program of child care services for children of working mothers. We are the only one.

Our refusal to meet what other modern nations regard as basic human necessities is having its cost and appears to be grounded in our determined resistance to communism or socialism or encroachment on our individualism. Such principled but purblind opposition has driven us to pay an awesome price through our foreign policy in Vietnam.

We must not, for similar reasons, perpetuate a domestic policy which debilitates the Nation's families and thereby endangers the integrity of the next generation of Americans at our 200 anniversary.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for a splendid statement and for the backup papers which I am sure will be most helpful to us in our work.

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Thank you very much for your testimony Dr. Bronfenbrenner.

It is quite apparent that you are cognizant of all of the factors in a given situation. Many persons seem to be only cognizant of some of them and compartmentalize matters. Your presentation recognizes the over-all inclusiveness of the factors.

Perhaps you can answer this one question I am going to ask on the basis of your experiences out here: In spite of all the statistics, in spite of all of the facts, in spite of the recognition that there is a change going on in America in terms of the structure of the family and many attitudes, why is there, in spite of all of these things, the feeling that if we implemented such a bill that this bill in some way is going to bring about a destruction of family life, when in reality even before the implementation of this bill, the destruction of family life in this country and the kinds of problems that are existing in our families are statistically demonstrated to exist already? Can you answer what is really the basic reason because I do not understand why certain individuals feel that way when the facts are presented to us?

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** Madam Congresswoman, do you have any other questions?

Mrs. **Chisholm.** I just would like——

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner.** I am not going to dodge your question. You are asking—your question sounds like the prophet to me—you know, it sounds like the prophet saying—what is it?—"The cockatrices are upon us. Do something. Why are the people so stiff-necked?"—if I may quote the Scripture, because I think the Scripture was describing a similar reality situation at that time.

The answers, of course, are very complex. Some of them are, in a peculiar way, to our credit. We are a nation, you know, made up of rebels. Most of us came here in all generations, except your own people, because we were rebelling. We did not want—no holds. The flag of Massachusetts, you know, "Do not tread on me." And we are still shy of anything that says, "You have got to be responsible," because of what we are running away from.

That is with us and I think it is real, and I think we have to learn to overcome it.

A second very important fact—you say the facts are before us, and I say to you the facts are known about a relatively yet small portion of our population. I, myself, have had the experience of trying to describe this reality for now 15 years. When I first described it, I got no—it just was not so. Nobody could see it anywhere.

It is only within the last year that I was in a position that I had the data that I could bring to people who were not sort of already in the area, and they said, "Hey, I thought it was just for people I knew or people who are low income."

A colleague of mine in Europe, a distinguished sociologist who just completed a historical study of what were the factors that led to family and children reform in the countries of continental Europe, came up with what to him and to me was a surprising finding across those countries, all of whom are farther along, as you know, in these areas than we. The most important single factor was new information—new information made available so that social and political pressures could be dealt with.

I think we have been slow in disseminating—we have had the information, and my profession, science is at fault because we have been doing irrelevant studies of children in laboratories—you know, having them meet strange people in strange situations and assuming that had to do with real life.

We are now beginning to get some of that information. I think it will help us move. I think when the people begin to realize the massive nature of what they are now seeing in the lives—that report on vandalism is in schools in the United States. It is not the schools of New York City. It is upstate, downstate, rural, and everywhere.

I think and hope and believe that we can move. That is why I think these hearings are so important, even though I am not saying that the bill will pass until after our second anniversary—if you understand my meaning.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much. There is probably no value in American life shown more frequently, and I think with a great deal of validity, than the work ethic. People ought to believe in work; work provides income; it provides pride; it provides goods and services that society needs, and from the very beginning in America we have been a strongly work-oriented society, and studies have shown that above all it is the poor who believe in work. They want to work. They look for jobs, sometimes fruitlessly, but they want work.

So we say to these same people now, "You have children. You are supposed to care for them. You are supposed to believe in work, and go to work."

And then they say, "What do I do with my children?"

And we say, "Well, make arrangements for them."

And they say, "All right. We will work, but since we make so little money, we cannot pay for private day care on our own. Would you have some kind of program that would help us pay part of the costs so we can work, and when we are through working, have something left."

So that seems to be the situation today. They are working when they can find jobs. Their children are somewhere. But we have not provided anything for the children.

Now we say, "Well, forget that work bit. Stay home and we will send you as much money as you would make if you worked, if we can get the bill passed."

Now, we know we cannot get the bill passed. The money will not be coming, and, so, they are damned if they do and they are damned if they do not, and the kids are the losers and we all go back to our upper middle class homes and say, "Aren't we wonderful because we believe in a strong family."

Meanwhile, the statistics show that the family has deteriorated, the number of single-parent homes is rising, the number of broken homes and divorces is increasing, and the pressures upon those families are breaking them down and leading to the kinds of institutions described very adequately by the New York Times here a couple of weeks ago. So it seems to me, in fairness to those people, we should have one of three answers: One, we are going to give you a decent place for your children while you work, or we are going to make it possible for you to stay home and be a full-time parent and still have a minimum decent life, and we estimate that that would cost something like $45 billion this year, which on top of a $65 billion deficit is kind of interesting, but, in any event, that is what we will do, or send them a message, "We are not going to help you. You are on your own. Good luck."

Dr. **Bronfenbrenner**. "Do your own thing," as we say.

Senator **Mondale**. And those are the alternatives I see. I do not know what else to do.

So we are going to persevere with this legislation. We think these criticisms are valuable. I think we have a stronger bill because we have had critics in here attacking us, and I think some of their criticisms have been valid, and I hope it is a stronger, more understandable piece of legislation.

One final point: I would like, Dr. Bronfenbrenner, if you would spell out a little bit what this alternative interim program you have referred to might involve. If you could get a chance, write us a letter or something on that.

And finally I want to thank both of you for your most loyal, helpful efforts on behalf of the subcommittee. Once again your cooperation has been extraordinary. We are grateful and we hope we can justify your confidence.

At this point I order printed all statements of those who could not attend and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Bronfenbrenner and other material supplied follows:]

# Who Cares for America's Children?

## Testimony before a Joint House Senate Hearing on the Child and Family Services Act of 1975[1]

Urie Bronfenbrenner
Cornell University

Mr. Chairman. In preparation for this session, I reviewed my previous testimony to Congressional hearings on this same subject. The statements go back over a decade, and they do not make pleasant reading. I sound like a broken record about broken families and broken children.

But there is an important difference. For example, in 1969, in testifying before the House Committee on Education and Labor, I began by trying to explain the difficult position in which I then found myself as a scientist. "Suppose," I said, "that you were an astronomer studying the solar system, and, as you examined your own observations and those of your colleagues, you began to see some clear indication that the solar system was falling apart." My predicament was how to convey to non-scientists the reality and gravity of the phenomena I was observing?

Mr. Chairman, today I no longer have that problem. The disturbing signs that, six years ago, could only be detected by an astronomer looking through a telescope, can now be seen by the naked eye. I am submitting with my testimony material I prepared as a member of the Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences. (Exhibit A) The report documents graphically, so that all can see, the changes that have taken place over the past quarter century, for American families and their children, mainly and most rapidly since 1966. There are some seventeen graphs. Even more important than the sharp rise or fall that each shows individually is the picture that emerges when one puts them all together. The pattern is unmistakable. Let me give you some of the highlights.

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[1] Held in Washington, D.C., Dirksen Senate Office Building, June 19, 1975.

As many more mothers have gone to work (now over half of those with school-age children, one-third with children under six, and 30% with infants under three; two-thirds of all those mothers are working full-time), the number of adults left in the home who might care for the child has been decreasing to a national average of two. Chief among the departing adults has been one of the parents, usually the father, so that today one out of every six children under eighteen is living in a single-parent family. This is often not a temporary state, since, on a national scale, the remarriage rate, especially for women, is substantially lower than the rate of divorce in families involving children, and this differential has been increasing over time. A significant component in the growth of single-parent families has been a sharp rise in the number of unwed mothers; more young women are postponing the age of marriage, but some of them are having children nevertheless.

All of these changes are occurring more rapidly among younger families with younger children, and increase with the degree of economic deprivation and urbanization, reaching their maximum among low income families living in the central core of our largest cities.

For example, among families with children under 18 and incomes under $4000 (and these contain 6 million children, almost a tenth of the national total), the proportion of single parents rose over the past six years from 42% in 1968 to 67% in 1974. In central cities, the rate of family disruption for this low income group was substantially higher, over 80%, for Whites as well as Blacks.

The last fact represents a concrete instance of an important general finding. Although levels of labor force participation, single-parenthood, and other related variables are substantially higher for Blacks than for Whites, those families residing in similar economic and social settings show similar rates of change. The critical factor, therefore, is not race, but the conditions under which the family lives.

Among these conditions, low income, especially unemployment, appears the most powerful force in breaking up families, especially younger couples with younger children. This fact has an obvious implication, Mr. Chairman, for present economic and manpower policies. So long as they remain in effect, we can anticipate, as one consequence, ever higher numbers of young children with only one parent, almost always a mother, who must also be the breadwinner.

But "winner" is hardly the appropriate term. There is no more revealing, no more objective measure of our national indifference to children or to those responsible for their care than this: according to the most recent figures reported by the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, the median income, for the United States as a whole, of all single-parent mothers with children under six, income from all sources including wages, welfare payments, and regular contributions from relatives or other persons not living in the household, was less than $3600. Economic deprivation is even more extreme for single-parent mothers under the age of 25. Such a mother, when all her children were small (e.g., under 6) had to make do with a median income of only $2700. Yet there were more than 1.5 million mothers in this age group and they constituted one-third of all female-headed families with children under six. By way of contrast, the median income for the small proportion (less than 1%) of father-headed single-parent families with preschool children was $9500.

It is important to recognize, Mr. Chairman, that the trends I have been describing are not limited to low income families. They apply to all strata of the society. Middle class families, in cities, suburbia, and non-urban areas, are changing in similar ways. For example, in terms of such characteristics as the proportion of working mothers, number of adults in the home, single-parent families, or children born out of wedlock, the middle class family of today increasingly resembles the low income family of the early 1960's.

These, then, are the changes that have been taking place in the structure and status of the American family over the past quarter century. We are now ready for the next question: So what? Or, to be a bit more formal and explicit, what do these changes mean for the well-being and growth of children? What does it mean for the young that more and more mothers, especially mothers of preschoolers and infants, are going to work, the majority of them full-time? What does it mean that, as these mothers leave for work, there are also fewer adults in the family who might look after the child, and that, among adults who are leaving the home, the principal departer is one or the other parent, usually the father?

Paradoxically, the most telling answer to the foregoing questions is yet another question: Who cares for America's children? Who cares?

At present, as the members of this Committee know all too well, substitute care for children of whatever form—be it nursery schools, group day care, family day care, or just a body to babysit—falls so far short of the need that it can be measured in millions of children under the age of six, not to mention the millions more of school-age youngsters, so-called "latch-key" children, who come home to empty houses, and who contribute far out of proportion to the ranks of pupils with academic and behavior problems, who experience difficulties in learning to read, and who are dropouts, drug users, or juvenile delinquents.

But we are getting ahead of our story. We have seen what has been happening to America's families. Unfortunately, statistics at a national level on the state of the child are neither as comprehensive nor as accurate, but the available data do reveal a consistent pattern. Concomitant and consistent with changes in structure and position of the family are changes in indices reflecting the well-being and development of children. Youngsters growing up in low income families are at especially high risk of damage physically, intellectually, emotionally, and socially. There is also evidence of change over time: declining levels of academic performance, and rising rates of child homicide, suicide, drug use, and juvenile delinquency.

The presence of concurrent secular trends does not, of course, prove cause and effect, but to disregard the evidence is to risk awesome human and economic costs. Consider a similar pattern of research findings cited in the report I have submitted with my testimony: within the city of New York, the rates of infant mortality and prematurity differ dramatically from one health district to the next, and vary directly with the number of health personnel and services available to families living in each district. It is hardly necessary to wait upon scientific demonstration of the exact causal connections in order to justify the need for and design a corrective program.

The same consideration applies to the data I have presented today in relation to the bill you now have before you. As responsible national leaders you have properly recognized the necessity to develop a cure before the disease becomes an epidemic. I have read the bill with mixed reactions of praise and pain—praise, because with a physician's care and wisdom, you have prescribed exactly the right medicines to cure this great national affliction—pain, because I fear that once again, other priorities will prevail. There will be those who will say that the medicine costs too much, that we cannot afford it, and that even if we could, we shouldn't let the patient have it.

Providing family and child care services at national expense, so the argument runs, will inevitably take us down the road of creeping socialism to crushing communism, and the end of our freedoms. As one who has had first experience with the so-called socialist democracies, and is not exactly enthusiastic about them, I should like to respond to this criticism in due course.

But first I wish to address a more responsible challenge, one that at least does not dodge the issue before us: the fate of the Nation's children and their families. There are professionals who sincerely believe, and some of them have testified before you, that the cure you have prescribed is worse than the disease, that providing child care and other services for working mothers and families under severe economic or social stress is actually destructive to families and children. Specifically, such measures will only further weaken the mother-child relationship, and thereby threaten the child's emotional security and subsequent personality development. This is a question that merits, and has received, serious consideration. In connection with the work of the NAS Committee mentioned previously, I was asked to review the available research evidence on the effects of the child's development of different types of care, in particular home care versus substitute care in group or family settings. I am submitting with my testimony a preliminary draft of the results of this inquiry (Exhibit B). The main points may be summarized as follows:

Well-designed comparative studies of the effects of different types of care are as yet few in number (there were only about a dozen that met the stipulated scientific criteria), and are limited to the first years of life. Nevertheless, there is enough consistency in the results to warrant tentative conclusions in three areas: cognitive function, emotional development, and social behavior. The findings give ground for reassurance and some concern.

1. In the intellectual sphere, studies to date have consistently failed to show any differences in performance between children raised by their own parents at home versus youngsters exposed to full- or part-time substitute care for extended periods either in group settings or family day care homes.

2. Concern about possible harmful consequences of substitute care for the child's emotional development arose originally out of the work of Bowlby, Spitz, and others documenting severe psychological deficiencies and behavior problems among children brought up in institutions. It is now generally recognized, however, that such debilitating effects, while real enough, come about only when physical and social deprivation have occurred to an extreme degree over an extended period of time. Hence the numerous studies on the effects of early deprivation on development of animal and human young[2] do not apply to effects of substitute care when it is provided, as it is in the majority of cases, in a stimulating physical environment by experienced caretakers, and involves only a temporary separation from the mother. More recent studies specifically addressed to the impact of home versus day care on

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[2] For a comprehensive review of the substantial body of research bearing on this issue, see Newton, G. and Levine, S., Early Experience and Behavior, Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1968, especially the final integrative chapter by Bronfenbrenner.

the child's emotional development have revealed some differences, but these have tended to be small in magnitude, short-lived, and mixed in terms of advantages or disadvantages attributable to one or the other setting. On the one hand, there is consistent evidence that children with previous day care experience adjust more quickly to new group situations entailing separation from the mother, but these effects are observable only on the first day, and not thereafter. On the other hand, children exposed to full-day group care, compared to home-reared controls, showed greater emotional distress upon being left alone by the mother with an adult stranger in an unfamiliar room in a university laboratory. The artificiality of this experiment, however, together with the fact that observations were made only for a few minutes, raises doubts about the generalizability of the findings, and, in particular, about the original investigator's claim that the results demonstrate "qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relationship in day care children." Moreover, other research reveals that day care children do exhibit strong maternal attachments, and that, in addition to the mother, "a familiar caretaker becomes a significant attachment figure for the infant in day care as early as the first year of life." Some caution is indicated, however, about exposure of children, especially infants under three years of age, to extended all-day group care in the absence of sufficient personnel to permit "a relatively high degree of continuity and stability" in the staff members who care for each child.

3. The most clear and consistent differences between home-reared children and those exposed to group day care appear in the sphere of social behavior. Youngsters raised in group care interact more with their peers, are somewhat less responsive to adult discipline, and exhibit more aggression, both toward other children and toward adults. The evidence suggests, however, that such behaviors are not the inevitable products of all forms of group care, but are specific to American day care, which tends to give priority and power to the peer group, and allows greater freedom for aggression.

Finally, it should be emphasized that all of the foregoing differences, where they occurred, distinguished not between child rearing by own parents versus substitute caretakers, but between children reared in group versus home settings, the latter including family day care as well as home care by one's own parents.

But whatever the differences may be, and wherever they occur, they are not the real issue confronting America's families. The principal dilemma that parents face is not the choice of whether to enroll the child in group care, arrange for family day care, or keep him or her at home, but the necessity to find some form of substitute care in a reality situation in which relatively few resources are available. A third document submitted to the Committee (Exhibit C) contains figures on the number of children in the United States in families of low or marginal income, whose mothers work, or who live in single-parent homes. These are the children at greatest risk. There are 4 million of them under the age of six, plus another 1 1/2 million latch-key children of school age, who come home every day to an empty house. The same document also summarizes the latest figures available on existing facilities for day care of all types, both public and private. As you know, the number of places in licensed or approved settings is only about a million, and most of these are occupied by children from intact, middle class families. In contrast, children at highest risk, like the majority of children receiving substitute care, are not to be found in these licensed facilities. A national survey, conducted in 1965, of "Child care arrangements of working mothers in the U.S." revealed that 46% of children under 14 covered by the survey were cared for in their own homes while the mother worked. Of these, 8%, or more than half a million, were cared for by another child under 16. Of all children of working mothers, 13%, or 1.6 million, were cared for by the mother at the place of work. Care outside the child's own home accounted for only 10% of the children of working mothers. This 10% consisted of 7% in family day care and 3% in group care, the "rarest of all arrangement."

Given the facts I have presented, Mr. Chairman, you can have little doubt about my views on the bill which you are now considering. I regard it as an absolute necessity. There is little in it with which I would take issue, but I do have some concerns.

1. First, I understand that you are under some pressure to designate public schools as the sole operating agents of child care programs. Viewed from a cross-cultural and historical perspective, schools in the United States are not well suited for this task. The

responsibility of the school in our country has been the teaching of subject matter, typically with minimal interference from or involvement with the child's family. As a result, schools may find it difficult to reorient their organizational structure and characteristic modes of operation so as to be sensitive and responsive not only to the special emotional and social needs of the very young, but perhaps even more importantly, to the needs and rights of parents to monitor, influence, and participate in the program.

2. Similar cautions apply, perhaps with even greater force, to profit making agencies engaged in child care. In particular, the need for efficiency of operation invites the all-too-easy and readily justifiable solution of reducing adult-child ratios. Strict controls should be introduced, subject to parental initiative and enforcement, to prohibit these and other forms of abuse.

3. I would like to commend the authors of the Act for their sensitivity to the plight of those families who are left in a highly vulnerable position under our current welfare laws. I refer to families with incomes just above the poverty line who, as a result, are ineligible for needed health, child care and other services, but whose earnings are not sufficient to enable them to purchase these services in the open market. The definition of eligibility under the present Act in terms of the "lower living standard budget" determined annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics represents a much needed, humane reform in our welfare practices.

4. I hope that my testimony has provided a concrete demonstration of the critical need for research data for any valid assessment of the needs of children and families, and for determining the most effective methods for meeting those needs. In this connection, I commend the authors of the bill for stipulating in Title III the authorization of research and demonstration projects, but I urge that, as in the provision for other essential special activities under the Act, a specified proportion of the total allocated funds be earmarked specifically and solely for such research activities. Further, I would re-emphasize the necessity explicitly to rule out funding of what I have in previous testimony characterized as "brand name research" in which "packaged programs", developed by different organizations, are pitted against each other in so-called evaluation studies designed to determine which package is "best." Apart from the abuses to which this strategy is particularly vulnerable, it suffers from a crucial scientific flaw; namely, it is impossible to identify which aspects of a program are responsible for its achievements or its failures.

My final concern sounds a sobering but realistic note. Despite the desperate situation confronting millions of our Nation's children and their families, the much needed legislation you have drafted ultimately faces the strong likelihood of a Presidential veto that the Congress will not be able to override. Given this prospect, I strongly urge the development of fallback legislation providing funds for innovation, demonstration, and testing of a variety of family support systems, including not only different types of child care services, but also measures, such as flexible work schedules that would enable parents who wish to do so to care for their children in their own homes. Wherever possible, such support systems should enlist the volunteer efforts of institutions and individuals in activities designed to enhance opportunity and status for parenthood in order to encourage and assist not only parents but all members of our society in the exciting and gratifying adventure of creating competent and compassionate human beings.

In conclusion, I promised to return to the issue of economics and ideology, to speak to the charge that we cannot afford the costs of the proposed program, and that even if we could, we should refuse to do so lest we become a welfare state or worse. In reply I would call to the attention of the Congress and the Administration the commitment of the other industrialized nations of the world to children and families as contrasted with our own.

1. The United States is now the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that does not insure health care for every family with young children.

2. The United States is the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that does not guarantee a minimum income level for every family with young children.

3. The United States is the only industrialized nation, capitalist or communist, that has not yet established a nationwide program of child care services for children of working mothers.

Our refusal to meet what other modern nations regard as basic human necessities appears to be grounded in our determined resistance to communism or socialism in any form. Such principled but purblind opposition has driven us to pay an awesome price through our foreign policy in Viet Nam. We must not, for similar reasons, perpetuate a domestic policy which debilitates the Nation's families and, thereby, endangers the integrity of the next generation of Americans.

Exhibit #1

# Who Cares for America's Children*

Urie Bronfenbrenner
Cornell University

## ABSTRACT

The topic is approached through an analysis of change over the past quarter century, in the institution bearing primary responsibility for the care and development of the Nation's children--the American family. The general trend reveals progressive fragmentation and isolation of the family in its child rearing role. As many more mothers have gone to work (now over half of those with school-age children, one-third with children under six, and 30% with infants under three; two-thirds of all those mothers are working full-time), the number of adults left in the home who might care for the child has been decreasing to a national average of two. Chief among the departing adults has been one of the parents, usually the father, so that today one out of every six children under eighteen is living in a single-parent family. This is often not a temporary state, since, on a national scale, the remarriage rate, especially for women, is substantially lower than the rate of divorce in families involving children, and this differential has been increasing over time. A significant component in the growth of single-parent families has been a sharp rise in the number of unwed mothers; more young women are postponing the age of marriage, but some of them are having children nevertheless.

All of these changes are occurring more rapidly among younger families with younger children, and increase with the degree of economic deprivation and urbanization ~~industrialization~~, reaching their maximum among low income families living in the central core of our largest cities. But the general trend applies to all strata of the society. Middle class families, in cities, suburbia, and non-urban areas, are changing in similar ways. Specifically, in terms of such characteristics as the proportion of working mothers, number of adults in the home, single-parent families, or children born out of wedlock, the middle class family of today increasingly resembles the low income family of the early 1960's.

Although levels of labor force participation, single-parenthood, and other related variables are substantially higher for Blacks than for Whites, those families residing in similar economic and social settings show similar rates of change. The critical factor, therefore, is not race, but the conditions under which the family lives.

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[*] This paper represents a ~~preliminary~~ draft for presentation to the general public, of materials originally prepared by the author as a member of the National Academy of Science's Committee on Child Development. Modified versions of this paper have been presented at meetings of the following organizations: American Academy of Pediatrics, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Association of Advertising Agencies, American Orthopsychiatric Association, Eastern Psychological Association, and the Society for Research in Child Development. It is also scheduled for presentation at the forthcoming meetings of the American Philosophical Society and the American Psychological Association.

Concomitant and consistent with changes in structure and position of the family are changes in indices reflecting the well-being and development of children. Youngsters growing up in low income families are at especially high risk of damage physically, intellectually, emotionally, and socially. Evidence is also cited for disturbing secular trends indicated by declining levels of academic performance and rising rates of child homicide, suicide, drug use, and juvenile delinquency.

While cross-sectional differences in the well-being of families and children are strongly linked with economic status, the longitudinal trends appear to be a function of more complex social changes associated with increasing urbanization. It is suggested that the destructive effect of these changes derives from the progressive segregation by age in American society, resulting in the isolation of children and those responsible for their care. The key to corrective policy and practice is seen in the development of support systems for families, not only economically, but also socially, through the involvement of all segments of society in mutually rewarding activities for and, especially, with children and those primarily responsible for their well-being and development.

# Who Cares for America's Children[*]

Urie Bronfenbrenner
Cornell University

## I Introduction

It is perhaps characteristic of our culture that discussions about the quality of life in the future are based almost entirely on technological considerations. How the next generation of Americans will live, we are told, will be determined by the changes in our physical and natural environment. Whatever the predictions, they refer to the altered circumstances under which people will be living, not the changes in people themselves. For the most part, our futurologists, scientific or otherwise, do not suggest that the new environment might produce a different kind of person. Our abilities, our

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I wish to express appreciation to the Foundation for Child Development for support in the development of the work presented in this paper

I am especially indebted to the following colleagues for their creative assistance in this endeavor: the members of the Foundation staff particularly Orville Brim, Heidi Sigal, Jane Dustan, and their predecessors Robert Slater and Barbara Jacquette; the devoted consultants to the FCD Program, Sarane Boocock, Michael Cole, Glen Elder, William Kessen, Melvin Kohn, Eleanor Maccoby, and Sheldon White; and my hard working administrative aide and research assistants, Joyce Brainard, Susan Turner, Lynn Mandelbaum, and Carol Williams. I am also grateful to many colleagues and students whose suggestions and criticisms have been a major stimulus to my own thinking and some of whose ideas I have probably assimilated as my own, among them are the following: David Goslin, Kurt Lüscher, Edward Devereux, Maureen Mahoney, James Garbarino, Eduardo Almeida, David Olds, Moncrieff Cochran, Julius Richmond, John Condry, John Hill, Harold Watts, Mary Keyserling, and David Knapp. Thanks are due as well to cooperative colleagues in the Bureau of the Census and the National Center for Health Statistics, in particular Howard Hayghe, Robert Heuser, Arthur Norton, and Alexander Plateris.

character, are apparently expected to remain much the same.

I do not share this expectation. As I look at the evidence, I see possibilities for significant change in the abilities and character of the next generation of Americans. The most important change I forsee will not be in the realm of technological discoveries. Nobel prize-winner Professor Joshua Lederberg to the contrary, I do not think we shall easily produce another Einstein by genetic duplication through cloning[1] or by putting sperm into deep freeze (a proposal, incidentally, that appears to assume that the only talented persons are males). I view the process of making human beings human as somewhat more complex. Nor is my vision of the future quite as sanguine. As I see it, the competence and character of the next generation of Americans will depend less on deliberate genetic selection or modifications of the physical or natural environment than on changes in the human condition, specifically the circumstances in which the next generation of Americans is being raised and developed. I refer to the changes that have been taking place in the structure of the family and its position in society.

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[1] Lederberg predicts the applicability of this technique within a matter of years rather than decades. As a result "biologists would at least enjoy being able to observe...whether a second Einstein would out do the first one". This statement, quoted from an interview published in the London Observer, November 6, 1966, rests on some tacit assumptions which are highly questionable for reasons that will shortly become apparent.

## II The Changing American Family

The American family has been undergoing rapid and radical change. Today, in 1975, it is significantly different from what it was only a quarter of a century ago. In documenting the evidence, I shall begin with aspects that are already familiar, and then proceed to other developments that are less well known. I will then show how these various trends combine and converge in an overall pattern that is far more consequential than any of its components.

Since my aim to is identify trends for American society as a whole, the primary sources of almost all the data I shall be presenting are government statistics, principally the Current Population Reports published by the Bureau of the Census, the Special Labor Force Reports issued by the Department of Labor, and the Vital and Health Statistics Reports prepared by the National Center of Health Statistics. These data are typically provided on an annual basis. What I have done is to collate and graph them in order to illuminate the secular trends.

### 1. More Working Mothers.

Our first and most familiar trend is the increase in working mothers. (Fig. 1) There are several points to be made about these data.

1) Once their children are old enough to go to school, the majority of American mothers now enter the labor force. As of March 1974, 51% of married women with children from 6 to 17 were engaged in or seeking work; in 1948, the rate was about half as high, 26%.

2) Since the early fifties, mothers of school age children have been more likely to work than married women without children.

3) The most recent and most rapid increase has been occurring for mothers of young children. One-third of all married women with children under six were in the labor force in 1974, three times as high as in 1948. Mothers of infants were not far behind; three out of ten married women with children under three were in the work force last year.

4) Whether their children were infants or teen-agers, the great majority (two-thirds) of the mothers who had jobs were working full time.

5) These figures apply only to families in which the husband was present. As we shall see, for the rapidly growing numbers of single-parent families, the proportions in the labor force are much higher.

2. Fewer Adults in the Home.

As more mothers have gone to work, the number of adults in the home who could care for the child has decreased. Whereas the number of children per family is now about the same today as it was twenty to thirty years ago, the number of adults in the household has dropped steadily to a 1974 average of two. This figure of course includes some households without children. Unfortunately, the Bureau of the Census does not publish a breakdown of the number of adults present in households containing children. A conservative approximation is obtainable, however, from the proportion of parents living with a relative as family head, usually a grandparent.[2]

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[2] This proportion represents a minimum estimate since it does not include adult relatives present besides parents, when the parent rather than the relative is the family head. For example, a family with a mother-in-law living in would not be counted unless she was regarded as the family head, paid the rent, etc. The percentage was calculated from two sets of figures reported annually in the Current Population Reports (Series P-20) of the U.S. Census; (a) the number of families (defined as two or more related persons, including children living together) and (b) the number of subfamilies (a married couple of single parent with one or more children living with a relative who is the head of the family). Since 1968, information has been provided as to whether or not the relative was a grandparent. This was the case in a little over 80% of all instances.

As shown in Figure 2, over the past quarter century the percentage of such "extended" families has decreased appreciably. Although parents with children under six are more likely to be living with a relative than parents with older children (6-17), the decline over the years has been greatest for families with young children.

### 3. More Single-Parent Families.

The adult relatives who have been disappearing from families include the parents themselves. As shown in Figure 3, over a twenty-five year period, there has been a marked rise in the proportion of families with only one parent present, with the sharpest increase occurring during the past decade. According to the latest figures available, in 1974, one out of every six children under 18 years of age was living in a single-parent family.[3] This rate is almost double that for a quarter of a century ago.

With respect to change over time, the increase has been most rapid among families with children under six years of age. This percentage has doubled from 7% in 1948 to 15% in 1974. The proportions are almost as high for very young children; in 1974, one out of every eight infants under three (13%), was living in a single-parent family.

Further evidence of the progressive fragmentation of the American family appears when we apply our index of "extended families" to single-parent homes. The index shows a marked decline from 1948 to 1974, with the sharpest drop occurring for families with preschoolers. Today, almost 90% of all children with only one parent are living in independent families in which the single mother or father is also the family head.

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[3] This figure includes a small proportion of single-parent families headed by fathers. This figure has remained relatively constant, around 1% since 1960.

The majority of such parents are also working, 67% of mothers with school age children, 54% of those with youngsters under six. And, across the board, over 80% of those employed are working full time. Even among single-parent mothers with children under three, 45% are in the labor force, of whom 86% are working full time.

The comment is frequently made that such figures about one parent families are misleading, since single parenthood is usually a transitional state soon terminated through remarriage. While this may be true for some selected populations, it does not appear to obtain for the nation as a whole. Figure 4 depicts the relevant data. The solid line in the middle shows the divorce rate for all marriages, the cross-hatched curve indexes divorces involving children, and the broken line describes the remarriage rate. To permit comparability, all three rates were computed with the total population for the given year as a base. It is clear that the remarriage rate, while rising, lags far behind the divorce rate, especially where children are involved.

Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the remarriage rate shown on the graph is substantially higher than that which applies for divorced, widowed, or other persons who are single parents. The overwhelming majority of single parents, about 95% of them, are women. In 1971, the latest year for which the data are available, the female remarriage rate per 1000 divorced or widowed wives, was 37.3; the corresponding figure for men was 130.6, four times as high. Given this fact, it becomes obvious that the rate of remarriage for single-parent families involving children is considerably lower than the remarriage rate for both sexes, which is the statistic shown in the graph.

4. More Children of Unwed Mothers.

After divorce, the most rapidly growing category of single-parenthood, especially since 1970, involves unmarried mothers. In the vital statistics of the United States, illegitimate births are indexed by two measures: the illegitimacy ratio, computed as the ratio of illegitimate births per 1000 live babies born; and the illegitimacy rate, which is the number of illegitimate births per 1000 unmarried women aged 15-44 years. As revealed in Figure 5, the ratio has consistently been higher and risen far more rapidly than the rate. This pattern indicates not only that a growing proportion of unmarried women are having children, but that the percentage of single women among those of childbearing age is becoming ever larger. Consistent with this conclusion, recent U.S. census figures reveal an increasing trend for women to postpone the age of marriage. The rise in percent single is particularly strong for the age group under 25; and over 80% of all illegitimate children are being born to women in this age bracket.

Such findings suggest that the trends we have been documenting for the nation as a whole may be occurring at a faster rate in some segments of American society, and more slowly, or perhaps not at all, in others. We turn next to an examination of this issue.

## III Which Families Are Changing?

Which Mothers Work? Upon analyzing available data for an answer to this question, we discover the following:

1. With age of child constant, it is the younger mother, particularly one under 25 years of age, who is most likely to enter the labor force. This trend has been increasing in recent years particularly for families with very young children (i.e., infants under 3).

2. One reason why younger mothers are more likely to enter the labor force is to supplement the relatively low earnings of a husband just beginning his career. In general, it is in families in which the husbands have incomes below $5000 (which is now close to the poverty line for a family of four) that the wives are most likely to be working. And for families in this bottom income bracket, almost half the mothers are under 25. All of these mothers, including the youngest ones with the youngest children, are working because they have to.

3. But not all the mothers whose families need the added income are working. The limiting factor is amount of schooling. It is only mothers with at least a high school education who are more likely to work when the husband has a low income. Since, below the poverty line, the overwhelming majority (68%) of family heads have not completed high school, this means that the families who need it most are least able to obtain the added income that a working mother can contribute.

4. In terms of change over time, the most rapid increase in labor force participation has occurred for mothers in middle and high income families. To state the trend in somewhat provocative terms, mothers from middle income families are now entering the work force at a higher rate than married women from low income families did in the early 1960's.

But the highest labor force participation rates of all are to be found not among mothers from intact families, on whom we have concentrated so far, but as we have already noted, among mothers who are single parents. Who are these single-parent families, and where are they most likely to be found?

*Who and Where Are Single-Parent Families?* As in the case of working mothers, single parenthood is most common and is growing most rapidly among the younger generation. Figure 6 shows the increase, over the past six years, in the proportion of one-parent families with children under six classified by age of head. By last year, almost one out of four parents under twenty-five heading a family was without a spouse.

The association with income is even more marked. Figure 7 shows the rise, between 1968 and 1974, in female-headed families for seven successive income brackets ranging from under $4000 per year to $15,000 or over As we can see from the diagram, single-parent families are much more likely to occur and increase over time in the lower income brackets. Among families with incomes under $4000, the overwhelming majority, 67%, now contain only one parent. This figure represents a marked increase from 42% only six years before. In sharp contrast, among families with incomes over $15,000, the proportion has remained consistently below 2%. Further analysis reveals that single-parenthood is especially common for young families in the low income brackets. For example, among family heads under 25 with earnings under $4000, the proportion of single parents was 71% for those with all children under 6, and 86% with all children of school age. The more rapid increases over the past few years, however, tended to occur among older low income families, who are beginning to catch up. It would appear that the disruptive processes first struck the younger families among the poor, and are now affecting the older generation as well.

But a word of caution is in order. It is important to recognize what might be called a pseudo-artifact, pseudo because there is nothing spurious in what appears in the diagram, but the pattern is susceptible to more than one possible interpretation. For example, though the percentage for the highest income group is very low, it would be a mistake to conclude that a well-to-do intact family is at low risk of disruption, for there is more than one explanation for the falling fencepost we see in the figure. The interpretation that most readily comes to mind is that families with children are more likely to split up when they are under financial strain. But the causal chain could also run the other way. The break up of the family could result in a lower income for the new, single-parent head, who, in the overwhelming majority of cases, is, of course, the mother.

Evidence on this issue is provided by the average income for separated and non-separated family heads. For example, 1973, the median income for all families headed by a male with wife present and at least one child under six was $12,000. The corresponding figure for a single-parent female-headed family was $3600, less than 30% of the income for an intact family, and far below the poverty line. It is important to bear in mind that these are nationwide statistics.

The nature and extent of this inequity is further underscored when we take note that the average income for the small proportion of father-headed single-parent families with preschool children was $9500. In other words, it is only the single-parent mother who finds herself in severely strained financial circumstances. Economic deprivation is even more extreme for single-parent mothers under the age of 25. Such a mother, when all her children are small (i.e., under 6), must make do with a median income of only $2500. Yet there are more than a million and a half mothers in this age group, and they constitute one-third of all female-headed families with children under six.

We can now understand why the frequency and rate of increase of single parents are so low among families in the highest income brackets. There are simply few single parents who have incomes as high as $10,000. Once separation occurs, family income drops substantially transferring the family into lower income brackets in the left-hand portion of Figure 7.

Does this mean that the low income is primarily a consequence rather than a cause of single-parent status? To answer this question directly we would need to know the income of the family before the split. Unfortunately this information was not obtained in the census interview. We do have data, however, that are highly correlated with the family's socio-economic status and generally precede the event of separation; namely, the mother's level of schooling. Is it the well-educated or poorly educated woman who is most likely to become a single parent?

The answer to this question appears in Figure 8. In general, the less schooling she has experienced, the more likely is the mother to be left without a husband. There is only one exception to the general trend. The proportion tends to be highest, and has risen most rapidly, not for mothers receiving only an elementary education, but for those who attended high school but failed to graduate. It seems likely that many of these are unwed mothers who left school because of this circumstance. Consistent with this interpretation, further analysis reveals that the foregoing pattern occurs only for women in the younger age groups, and is most marked for mothers of children from 0 to 3 years of age. In 1974, among mothers of infants in this age group, 14%, or one out of every seven, was a high school dropout.

This diagram is misleading in one respect. It leaves the impression that there has been little increase recently in the percent of single-parent families among college graduates. A somewhat different picture emerges, however, when the data are broken down simultaneously by age of mother or child. When this is done, it becomes apparent that college graduates are more likely to defer family breakup until children are older. Once they can be entered into school, or even preschool, the rates of parental separation go up from year to year, especially among the younger generation of college educated parents.

In the case of split families, we are in a position to examine not only who is likely to become an only parent, but also where, in terms of place of residence. Figure 9 shows the rise over the last six years in the percentage of single-parent families with children under six living in non-urban and suburban areas, and in American cities increasing in size from 50,000 to over 3,000,000. The graph illustrates at least three important trends. First, the percentage of single-parent families increases markedly with city size, reaching a maximum in American metropolises with a population of over 3 million. Second, the growing tendency for younger families to break up more frequently than older ones is greatest in the large urban centers and lowest in non-urban and suburban areas. Thus the proportion of single parents reaches its maximum among families with heads under 35 and living in cities with more than 3,000,000 persons. Here one out of three to four households has a single parent as the head. Finally, the most rapid change over time is occurring not in the larger cities but those of of medium size. This pattern suggests that the high levels of family fragmentation which, six years ago, were found only in major metropolitan centers, are now occurring in smaller urban areas as well.

The Ecology of a Race Difference. The question may well arise why, with all the breakdowns we have made--by age, income, education, and place of residence--we have not presented any data separately by race. We have deferred this separation for a reason which will become apparent in this next chart (Figure 10). It shows the rise, between 1960 and 1970, in the percentage of single-parent families by income of head within three types of residence areas: urban, suburban, and non-urban, separately for Black and White families. Unfortunately, no breakdown was available within the urban category by city size so that, as a result, the effects of this variable are considerably attenuated. Nevertheless, it is clear that both income and place of residence make an independent contribution to the level and size of broken families.

Turning to the issue of race, note that in the graph, the rising lines for Blacks and Whites are almost parallel. In other words, within each setting and income level, the percentage of single parents is increasing about as fast for Whites as it is for Blacks. To put it in more general terms, families that live in similar circumstances, whatever their color, are affected in much the same ways. To be sure, at the end of the decade, the Blacks within each setting and income bracket experience a higher percentage of single-parent families than do the Whites. But they entered the decade in the same relative positions. This suggests that some different experiences prior to 1960 must have contributed to the disparity we now observe between Black and White families living in similar conditions. One does not have to seek long in the historical records, especially those written by Blacks, to discover what some of these experiences may have been.

But, of course, in reality the overwhelming majority of Blacks and Whites do not live in similar circumstances. It is only in our artificially selected comparison groups, especially in the context which is most homogeneous, namely suburbia, that data for the two races begin to look alike. Without statistical control for income and urbanization, the curves for the two races are rather different; they are much farther apart, and the curve for Blacks rises at a substantially faster rate. Specifically, between 1960 and 1970, the percentage of single-parent families among Blacks increased at a rate five times that for Whites, and at the end of that period the percentage was over four times as high, 35% versus 8%. In the last four years, both figures have risen and the gap has widened. In 1974, the percentage of single-parent families with children under 18 was 13% for Whites and 44% for Blacks.

This dramatic disparity becomes more comprehensible, however, when we apply what we have learned about the relation of urbanization and income to family disruption. Upon inquiry, we discover that in 1974 about 6% of all White families with children under 18 were living in cities with a population of 3 million or more, compared to 21% for Blacks, over three and one-half times as high; this ratio has been rising steadily in recent years.

Turning to family income, in 1973, the latest year for which the data are available, the median income for an intact family with children under six was $12,300 when the family was White, $6700 when it was Black. Ironically, single-parenthood reduced the race difference by forcing both averages down below the poverty level--$3700 for Whites, $3400 for Blacks. Consistent with these facts, the percentage of Black families who fall below the poverty line is much higher than that for Whites. In 1973, 33%, or one-third, of all Black families with children under 18, were classified in the low income bracket, compared to 8% for Whites, a ratio of over four to one. Moreover, the advantage of Whites over Blacks in family income, which decreased during the 1960's, reversed itself at the turn of the decade and has been increasing since 1969. In the language of the latest census report:

> The 1973 median income for black families was 58 percent of the white median income and this continued a downward trend in this ratio from 61 percent, which occurred in both 1960 and 1970. In contrast to the 1970's, the ratio of black to white median family income had increased during the 1960's.[3a] (p. 5)

We can now understand why non-White mothers have gone to work in increasing numbers and at rates substantially higher than their White counterparts. In 1974, almost one-third of White married women with husbands present and children under six were in the labor force; the corresponding fraction for non-White families was over half (52%). Fifteen years ago, the gap between the racial groups was much smaller, 18% versus 28%, and it is of course the non-Whites who have increased at the faster rate.

But the more vulnerable position of Black families in American society becomes clearest when we examine the comparative exposure of both ethnic groups to the combined effects of low income and urbanization. Unfortunately, once again the data are not broken down by city size, but we can compare the distribution of Black and White families with children under 18 living in so-called "poverty areas" in urban, suburbia, and rural settings, further sub-classified by family income. A poverty area is a census tract in which 20% or more of the population was below the low income level in 1969. As might be expected, more

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[3a] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 97, "Money Income in 1973 of Families and Persons in the United States," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975.

White families with children (44% of them) reside in suburbia than in central cities or rural areas, and the overwhelming majority (70%) live outside of poverty areas and have incomes above the poverty line. In contrast, the corresponding percentages for Black families are much smaller, 17% and 32% respectively; well over half of Black families (58%) are concentrated in central cities, more than half of these live in poverty areas within those cities, and half of these, in turn, have incomes below the poverty line. Seventeen percent, or one out of every six Black families with children under 18, are found in the most vulnerable ecological niche (low income in a poverty area of a central city), compared to less than 1% of all Whites. Even though only 14% of all American families with children are Black, among those living in poverty areas of central cities and having incomes below the poverty level, they constitute the large majority (66%).

The grossly differential distribution of Blacks and Whites in American society by income, place of residence, and other ecological dimensions which we have not been able to examine for lack of adequate data makes even more comprehensible the difference in degree of family disruption experienced by these two major classes of American citizens. Indeed, given the extent of the disparity in conditions of life, one wonders what keeps the figures for Black families from running even higher than they do.

A possible answer is suggested by the data provided in Figure 11 which shows our measure of "extended families" separately for White and non-White families. It will be observed that this index is consistently and markedly higher for non-Whites. In other words, non-Whites are much more likely to be living in a household that includes more than two generations, with another relative besides the child's parent acting as the family head. To be sure, the decline since 1959 has been greater for non-Whites than for Whites, but the former curve has shown an upswing in the last four years.

But there are other less favorable developments as well. If we examine, separately by race, the extent to which single parents head their own families, we observe that the same trend toward greater isolation for both Whites and non-Whites. As we see in Figure 12, these two curves are almost indistinguishable. Again, regardless of color, families in similar circumstances are affected in the same way for better or for worse.

What this means is that the disparity in the fate of White and Black families in American society is a reflection of the way in which our society now functions and, hence, is subject to change if and when we decide to alter our policies and practices.

We have now completed our analysis of changes in the American family over the past quarter century. For the nation as a whole, the analysis reveals progressive fragmentation and isolation of the family in its child rearing role. With respect to different segments of American society, the changes have been most rapid among younger families with younger children, and increase with the degree of economic deprivation and industrialization, reaching their maximum among low income families living in the central core of our largest cities. But the general trend applies to all strata of the society. Middle class families, in cities, suburbia, and non-urban areas, are changing in similar ways. Specifically, in terms of such characteristics as the proportion of working mothers, number of adults in the home, single-parent families, or children born out of wedlock, the middle class family of today increasingly resembles the low income family of the early 1960's.

## IV The Changing American Child

Having described the changes in the structure and status of the American family, we are now ready to address our next question: So what? Or, to be more formal and explicit, what do these changes mean for the well-being and growth of children? What does it mean for the young that more and more mothers, especially mothers of preschoolers and infants, are going to work, the majority of them full-time? What does it mean that, as these mothers leave for work, there are also fewer adults in the family who might look after the child, and that, among adults who are leaving the home, the principal deserter is one or the other parent, usually the father?

Paradoxically, the most telling answer to the foregoing questions is yet another question which is even more difficult to answer: Who cares for America's children? Who cares?

At the present, substitute care for children of whatever form--nursery schools, group day care, family day care, or just a body to babysit--falls so far short of the need that it can be measured in millions of children under the age of six, not to mention the millions more of school age youngsters, so-called "latch-key" children, who come home to empty houses, and who contribute far out of proportion to the ranks of pupils with academic and behavior problems, have difficulties in learning to read, who are dropouts, drug users, and juvenile delinquents.

But we are getting ahead of our story. We have seen what has been happening to America's families. Let us try to examine systematically what has been happening to the American child. Unfortunately, statistics at a national level on the state of the child are neither as comprehensive nor as complete as those on the state of the family, but the available data do suggest a pattern consistent with the evidence from our prior analysis.

We begin at the level at which all the trends of disorganization converge. For this purpose, there is an even better index than low income level--one that combines economic deprivation with every kind--health, housing, education, ~~and welfare--let us look first at children who are~~ born to American citizens whose skin color is other than white.

1. Death in the first year of life.

The first consequence we meet is that of survival itself.

In recent years, many persons have become aware of the existance of the problem to which I refer, but perhaps not of the evidence for its practical solution. America, the richest and most powerful country in the world, stands fourteenth among the nations in combating infant mortality; even East Germany does better. Moreover, our ranking has dropped steadily in recent decades. A similar situation obtains with respect to maternal and child health, day care, children's allowances, and other basic services to children and families.

But the figures for the nation as a whole, dismaying as they are, mask even greater inequities. For example, infant mortality for non-Whites in the United States is almost twice that for Whites, the maternal death rate is four times as high, and there are a number of Southern states, and Northern metropolitan areas, in which the ratios are considerably higher. Among New York City health districts, for example, the infant mortality rate in 1966-67 varied from 13 per 1000 in Maspeth, Forest Hills to 41.5 per 1000 in Central Harlem.[4] One illuminating way of describing the differences in infant mortality by race is from a time perspective. Babies born of non-White mothers are today dying at a rate which White babies have not experienced for almost a quarter of a century. The current non-White rate of 23.1 was last reported for American Whites in the late 1940's. The rate for Whites in 1950, 26.8%, was not yet achieved by non-Whites in 1974. In fact in recent years the gap between the races, instead of narrowing, has been getting wider.

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[4] Kessner, D.S., et al. Infant Death: An analysis by maternal risk and health care. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1973.

The way to the solution is suggested by the results of the two-stage analysis carried out by Dr. Harold Watts for the Advisory Committee on Child ~~Development of the National Academy of Sciences.~~ First, Watts demonstrated that 92% of the variation in infant death among the 30 New York City health districts is explainable by low birth weight. Second, he showed that 97% of the variation in low birth weight can be attributed to the fraction of mothers who received no prenatal care or received care only late in their pregnancy, and the fraction unwed at the time of delivery.

Confirmatory evidence is available from an important and elegant study, published in 1973, on the relations between infant mortality, social and medical risk, and health care.[5] From an analysis of data in 140,000 births in New York City, the investigators found the following:

1. The highest rate of infant mortality was for children of Black native-born women at social and medical risk and with inadequate health care. This rate was 45 times higher than that for a group of White mothers at no risk with adequate care. Next in line were Puerto Rican infants with a rate 22 times as high.

2. Among mothers receiving adequate medical care, there was essentially no difference in mortality among White, Black, and Puerto Rican groups, even for mothers at high medical risk.

3. For mothers at socio-economic risk, however, adequate medical care substantially reduced infant mortality rates for all races, but the figures for Black and Puerto Rican families were still substantially greater than those for Whites. In other words, other factors besides inadequate medical care contribute to producing the higher infant mortality for these non-White groups. Again these factors have to do with the social and economic conditions in which these

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[5] Kessner, *et al.*, *op cit.*

families have to live. Thus, the results of the New York City study and other investigations point to the following characteristics as predictive of higher infant mortality: employment status of the breadwinner, mother unwed at infant's birth, married but no father in the home, number of children per room, mother under 20 or over 35, and parents' educational level.

4. Approximately 95% of those mothers at risk had medical or social conditions that could have been identified at the time of the first prenatal visit; infants born to this group of women accounted for 70% of the deaths.

What would have happened had these conditions been identified and adequate medical care provided? The answer to this question has recently become available from an analysis of data from the Maternal and Infant Care Projects of HEW which, in the middle 1960's, were established in slum areas of fourteen cities across the nation and in Puerto Rico. In Denver, a dramatic fall in infant mortality from 34.2 per 1000 live births in 1964 to 21.5 per 1000 in 1969 was observed for the 25 census tracts that made up the target area for such a program. In Birmingham, Alabama, the rate decreased from 25.4 in 1965 to 14.3 in 1969, and in Omaha from 33.4 in 1964 to 13.4 in 1960. Significant reductions have also occurred over the populations served by these programs in prematurity, repeated teenage pregnancy, women who conceive over 35 years old, and families with more than four children.

It is a reflection of our distorted priorities that these programs are currently in jeopardy, even though their proposed replacement through revenue sharing is not yet on the horizon. The phasing out of these projects will result in a return of mortality to earlier levels; more infants will die.

2. The interplay of biological and environmental factors.

The decisive role that environmental factors can play in influencing the biological growth of the organism, and, thereby, its psychological development, is illustrated by a series of recent follow-up studies of babies experiencing prenatal complications at birth, but surviving and growing up in families at different socio-economic levels. As an example we may take an excellently designed and analyzed study by Richardson.[6] It is a well established finding that mothers from low income families bear a higher proportion of premature babies, as measured either by weight at birth or gestational age, and that prematures generally tend to be somewhat retarded in mental growth. Richardson studied a group of such children in Aberdeen, Scotland from birth through seven years with special focus on intellectual development. He found, as expected, that children born prematurely to mothers in low income families showed significantly poorer performance on measures of mental growth, especially when the babies were both born before term and weighed less than five pounds. The average I.Q. for these children at seven years of age was 80. But the higher the family's socio-economic level, the weaker the tendency for birth weight to be associated with impaired intellectual function. For example, in the higher social class group, infants born before term and weighing under five pounds had a mean I.Q. of 105, higher than the average for the general population, and only five points below the mean for full term babies of normal weight born to mothers in the same socio-economic group. In other words, children starting off with ~~the same~~ similar biological deficits ended up with widely differing risks of mental retardation as a function of the conditions of life for the family in which they were born.

But low income does not require a biological base to affect profoundly the welfare and development of the child. To cite but two examples. Child abuse is far more common in poor than in middle income families,[7] and the socioeconomic status of the family has emerged as the most powerful predictor of school success in studies conducted at both the national and state level.[8]

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[6] Richardson, S.A., Ecology of malnutrition: Non-nutritional factors influencing intellectual and behavioral development. In Nutrition, the Nervous System, and Behavior. Scientific Publication #251, Pan American Health Organization, Washington, D.C., 1972, pp. 101-110.

Nor does income tell the whole story. In the first place, other social conditions, such as the absence of the parent have been shown to exacerbate the impact of poverty. For example, in low income homes, child abuse is more likely to occur in single-parent than in intact families, especially when the mother is under 25 years of age.[9] It is also the young mother who is most likely to have a premature baby.

In terms of subsequent development, a state-wide study in New York of factors affecting school performance at all grade levels[10] found that 58% of the variation in student achievement could be predicted by three factors: broken homes, overcrowded housing, and the educational level of the head of the household; when racial and ethnic variables were introduced into the analysis, they accounted for less than an additional 2% of the variation.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, low income may not be the critical factor affecting the development and needs of children and families. The most powerful evidence for this conclusion comes from census data on trends in family income over the past quarter century. Even after adjustment for inflation, the level has been rising steadily at least through 1974, and for Black families as well as White. A reflection of this fact is a drop over the years in the percentages of children in families below the poverty line, 27% in 1959, 15% in 1969, and 14% in 1973.[11]

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[7] Gil, D.G. *Violence against children: Physical child abuse in the United States*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

[8] Coleman, J.S. *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966; Jencks, C. *Inequality*. New York: Basic Books, 1972; *Report of the New York State Commission on the Quality, Cost, and Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education*. Vol. 1.

[9] Gil, *ibid*.

[10] *Report of the New York State Commission*, *ibid*.

### 3. Changes over Time

And yet, as we have seen, the percentage of single-parent families has been growing, especially in recent years. And there are analogous trends for indices bearing on the state and development of the child. Although lack of comparability between samples and measures precludes a valid assessment of change in child abuse rates, an index is available for this phenomenon in its most extreme form; homicide, or the deliberate killing of a child. As shown in Figure 13, the rate has been increasing over time for children of all ages. Adolescents are more likely to be the victims of homicide than younger children except in the first year of life, in which the rates again jump upward.

Children who survive face other risks. For example, the New York study cited earlier[12] reports a secular trend in the proportion of children failing to perform at minimal levels in reading and arithmetic: each year "more and more children are below minimum competence."

One might conclude that such a decrease in competence is occurring primarily, if not exclusively, among families of lower socio-economic status, with limited income, education, and cultural background. The data of Figure 14 suggest that the trend may be far more democratic. The graph shows the average score achieved each year in the verbal and mathematical sections of the Scholastic Aptitude Test, taken by virtually all high school juniors and seniors who plan to go to college. The test scores are used widely as the basis for determining admission. As is apparent from the figure, there has been a steady and substantial decrease over the past decade--35 points in the verbal section, 24 in the mathematical section. In interpreting the significance of this decline, Dr. T. Anne Clarey, Chief of the Program Services Division of the College Board, warned that it is incorrect to conclude from a score decline that schools have not been preparing students in verbal and mathematical skills as well as they have in former years. "The SAT measures skills developed over a youngster's life time--both in and out of the school setting. ...It is evident that many factors, including family and home life, exposure to mass media, and other cultural and environmental factors are associated with students' performance."[13]

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[11] Unfortunately, the curve levelled off in 1969 and has shown no decline in the 1970's.

[12] New York State Commission, op cit.

Finally, the remaining sets of data shift attention from the cognitive to the emotional and social areas. Figures 15 and 16 document the increase in suicide rates in recent years for children as young as ten. Figure 17 shows an even more precipitous climb in the rate of juvenile delinquency. Since 1963, crimes by children have been increasing at a higher rate than the juvenile population. In 1973, among children under 15,[14] almost half (47%) of all arrests involved theft, breaking and entry, and vandalism, and, with an important exception to be noted below, these categories were also the ones showing the greatest increase over the past decade. The second largest grouping, also growing rapidly, constituted almost a quarter of all offenses[15] and included loitering, disorderly conduct, and runaways. The most rapid rises, however, occurred in two other categories, drug use and violent crimes. In 1973, drug arrests accounted for 2.6% of all offenses by children under 15. The precise rate of increase over time is difficult to estimate because of inconsistant enforcement and reporting. In the same year, the next most rapid rise was for violent crimes (aggravated assault, armed robbery, forcible rape, and murder). These accounted for 3.3% of all arrests. While the proportion of children involved is of course very small, this figure represents at least a 200% increase over the 1964 level.[16] And the total number of children with a criminal record is substantial. "If the present trends continue, one out of every nine youngsters will appear before a juvenile court before age 18."[17] The figures, of course, index only offenses that are detected and prosecuted. One wonders how high the numbers must climb before we acknowledge that they reflect deep and pervasive problems in the treatment of children and youth in our society.

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[13] Press release, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, New York, December 20, 1973. A recent report in Time (March 31, 1975) quotes Sam McCandless, director of admissions testing for the College Entrance Examination Board, as refuting arguments that the decrease in SAT scores is not "real" but a reflection of changes on the tests or in the social composition of students taking them. According to McCandless, the reason for the drop is a decline in students' "developed reasoning ability."

The same article reports two other developments which corroborate the downward trend in learning:

> The National Assessment of Educational Progress--a federally funded testing organization--reported last week that students knew less about science in 1973 than they did three years earlier. The test, which covered 90,000 students in elementary and junior and senior high schools in all parts of the nation, showed the sharpest decline among 17-year-olds in large cities, although suburban students' test scores fell too.
>
> The results of the third study, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and announced last week, showed that public school students' reading levels have been falling since the mid-1960s.

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[14] The figures which follow are based on the *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States* published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

[15] It is noteworthy that the highest level and most rapid rise within this grouping occurred for runaways, an increase of more than 240% since 1964 (the rate has decreased somewhat since 1970). It would appear that the trend we have observed in the progressive break-up of the family includes the departure not only of its adult members, but its children as well.

[16] We may take what comfort we can from the fact that the reported rates of drug arrests and of juvenile violence have dropped somewhat since 1970.

[17] *Profiles of Children*. White House Conference on Children, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 79.

## V The Roots of Alienation

What are the basic sources of these problems? The data we have examined point the accusing finger most directly at the destructive effect, both on families and children, of economic deprivation. In the light of our analysis, there can be no question that variation in income plays a critical role in accounting for the marked differences in the state of families and their children in different segments of American society. Hence, the keystone for any national policy in this sphere must insure basic economic security for American families.

But while income is crucial to the understanding and reduction of cross-sectional differences, our analyses indicate that the financial factor, taken by itself, cannot explain, or counteract, the profound longitudinal changes that have been taking place over the past quarter century, and that are documented in so many of our charts and figures. Other forces besides the purely economic have been operating to produce the present state of affairs, and will need to be invoked to bring about any desired improvement. These forces are reflected, but not identified, in our data on the effects of urbanization. Available research does not enable us to pin them down with any degree of precision, but some indication of their possible nature is provided from studies of child socialization and development in other cultures.[18] These investigations call attention to a distinctive feature of American child-rearing: segregation, not by race or social class, but by age. Increasingly, children in America are living and growing up in relative isolation from persons older, or younger than themselves. For example, a survey of changes in child rearing practices in the United States over a 25-year period reveals a decrease in all spheres of interaction between parent and child.[19] A similar trend is indicated by data from cross-cultural studies comparing American families with their European counterparts.[20] Thus, in a comparative study of socialization practices among German and American parents, the former emerged as significantly more involved in activities with their children including both affection and discipline. A second study, conducted several years later, showed changes over time in both cultures reflecting "a trend toward the dissolution of the family as a social system," with Germany moving closer to the American pattern of "centrifugal forces pulling the members into relationships outside the family."[21]

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[18] Berfenstam, R. & William-Olsson, I. *Early child care in Sweden*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1974; Bronfenbrenner, U. *Two worlds of childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970; David M. & Lezine, I. *Early child care in France*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1975; Devereux, E.C., Jr., *et al*. Child rearing in England and the United States: A cross-national comparison. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, May 1969, *31*, 257-270; Hermann, A. & Komlosi, S. *Early child care in Hungary*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973; Kessen, W. *Children and China*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, in press; Liegle, L. *The family's role in Soviet education*. New York: Springer Pub. Co., in press; Lüscher, K.L. *et al*. *Early child care in Switzerland*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973; Pringle. M.K. & Naidoo, S. Early child care in Britain. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1975; Robinson, H.B., *et al*. *Early child care in the United States of America*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 1973; Rodgers, R.R. Changes in parental behavior reported by children in West Germany and the United States. *Human Development*, 1971, *14*, 208-224.

Although the nature and operation of these centrifugal forces have not been studied systematically, they are readily apparent to observers of the American scene. The following excerpt from the report of the President's White House Conference on Children summarizes the situation as seen by a group of experts, including both scientists and practitioners.

> . . .
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> In today's world parents find themselves at the mercy of a society which imposes pressures and priorities that allow neither time nor place for meaningful activities and relations between children and adults, which downgrade the

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[19] Bronfenbrenner, U. Socialization and social class through time and space. In E.E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb, and E. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, 3rd edition. New York: Holt, 1958, 400-425.

[20] Bronfenbrenner, 1970, *op cit*.; Devereux, et al., 1969, *op cit*.

[21] Rodgers, 1971, *op cit*.

> role of parents and the functions of parenthood, and which prevent the parent from doing things he wants to do as a guide, friend, and companion to his children...
>
> The frustrations are greatest for the family of poverty where the capacity for human response is crippled by hunger, cold, filth, sickness, and despair. For families who can get along, the rats are gone, but the rat-race remains. The demands of a job, or often two jobs, that claim mealtimes, evenings, and weekends as well as days; the trips and moves necessary to get ahead or simply hold one's own; the ever increasing time spent in commuting, parties, evenings out, social and community obligations—all the things one has to do to meet so-called primary responsibilities--produce a situation in which a child often spends more time with a passive babysitter than a participating parent.[22]

Although no systematic evidence is available, there are indications that a withdrawal of adults from the lives of children is also occurring outside the home. To quote again from the report of the White House Conference:

> In our modern way of life, it is not only parents of whom children are deprived, it is people in general. A host of factors conspire to isolate children from the rest of society. The fragmentation of the extended family, the separation of residential and business areas, the disappearance

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[22] Report to the President. White House Conference on Children. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970, 240-255.

of neighborhoods, zoning ordinances, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the abolishment of the apprentice system, consolidated schools, television, separate patterns of social life for different age groups, the working mother, the delegation of child care to specialists--all these manifestations of progress operate to decrease opportunity and incentive for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves.[23]

This erosion of the social fabric isolates not only the child but also his family. As documented in earlier sections of this report, even in intact families the centrifugal forces generated within the family by its increasingly isolated position have propelled its members in different directions. As parents, especially mothers, spend more time in work and community activities, children are placed in or gravitate to group settings, both organized and informal. For example, since 1965 the number of children enrolled in day care centers has more than doubled, and the demand today far exceeds the supply. Outside preschool or school, the child spends increasing amounts of time solely in the company of his age-mates. The vacuum created by the withdrawal of parents and other adults has been filled by the informal peer group. A recent study has found that at every age and grade level, children today show a greater dependency on their peers than they did a decade ago.[26] A parallel investigation indicates that such susceptibility to group influence is higher among children from homes in which one or both parents are frequently absent.[25] In addition, "peer oriented" youngsters describe their parents as less affectionate and less firm in discipline. Attachment to age-mates appears to be influenced more by a lack of attention and concern at home than by any positive attraction of the peer group itself. In fact, these children have a rather negative view of their friends and of themselves as well. They are pessimistic about the future, rate lower in responsibility and leadership, and are more likely to engage in such anti-social behavior as lying, teasing other children, "playing hooky," hurting others or "doing something illegal"[26]

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[23] Report of Forum 15. White House Conference on Children. Washington, D.C., 1970.

[24] Condry, J.C. & Simon, M.A. Characteristics of peer- and adult-oriented children. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1974, 36, 543-554.

What we are seeing here, of course, are the roots of alienation and its milder consequences. The more serious manifestations are reflected in the rising rates of child homicide, suicide, drug use, and juvenile delinquency previously cited.

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[25] Condry, J.C. & Siman, M.A. An experimental study of adult vs. peer orientation. Unpublished manuscript, Cornell University, 1968.

[26] Siman, M.A. Peer group influence during adolescence: A study of 41 naturally existing friendship groups. A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, January 1973.

## VI Family Support Systems

How are we to reverse this debilitating trend? To the extent to which this problem has been recognized and addressed in the recent past, the principal focus of attention and programmatic effort has been the child, and in the context not of the family but of the school. At both the local and national levels, a variety of educational programs have been instituted, beginning at the preschool level, through Head Start, and extending into the elementary years via Follow Through and similar compensatory efforts, all designed to enhance, or at least prevent decline in, the all-round development of children, especially from low income families.

As we now know, the results of these educational strategies have proved disappointing. By and large, early intervention programs were effective while they lasted, but gains tended to wash out once the children entered school.[27] The only exception to this general trend occurred with programs emphasizing the direct involvement of parents in activities with their children. But the success of this approach was qualified by the realization that the families who were willing and able to participate in these programs tended to be the least disadvantaged among those eligible.

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[27] Bronfenbrenner, U. Is early intervention effective? Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Child Development. Washington, D.C., 1974.

With respect to the effects of school programs, an impressive series of investigations, notably the studies published by James Coleman in 1966[28] and by Christopher Jencks in 1972,[29] demonstrate that the characteristics of schools, of classrooms and even of teachers predict very little of the variation in school achievement. What does predict it is family background, particularly the characteristics that define the family in relation to its social context: the world of work, neighborhood, and community.

The critical question thus becomes: Can our social institutions be changed--old ones modified and new ones introduced--so as to rebuild and revitalize the social context that families and children require for their effective function and growth? Let me consider some institutions on the contemporary American scene that are likely to have the greatest impact, for better or for worse, on the welfare of America's children and young people.

1. Day Care

Day care is coming to America. The question is what kind. Shall we, in response to external pressures to "put people to work" or for considerations of personal convenience, allow a pattern to develop in which the care of young children is delegated to specialists, further separating the child from his family and reducing the family's and the community's feeling of responsibility for their children? Or will day care be designed, as it can be, to reinvolve and strengthen the family as the primary and proper agent for making human beings human?

As Project Head Start demonstrated, preschool programs can have no lasting constructive impact on the child's development unless they affect not only the child himself but also the people who constitute his enduring day-to-day environment. This means that parents and other people from the child's immediate environment must play a prominent part in the planning and administration of day-care programs and also participate actively as volunteers and aides. It means that the program cannot be confined to the center but must reach out into the home and the community so that the entire neighborhood is caught up in activities in behalf of its children. We need to experiment with putting day-care centers within reach of the significant people in the child's life. For some families this will mean neighborhood centers, for others centers at the place of work. A great deal of variation and innovation will be required to find the appropriate solutions for different groups in different settings.

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[28] Coleman, J.S. Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1966.

[29] Jencks, C. Inequality. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

### 2. Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Act

Such solutions confront a critical obstacle in contemporary American society. The keystone of an effective day-care program is parent participation, but how can parents participate if they work full time--which is one of the main reasons the family needs day care in the first place? I see only one possible solution: increased opportunities and rewards for part-time employment. It was in the light of this consideration that the report of the White House Conference urged business and industry, and governments as employers, to introduce flexible work schedules (for example, to enable at least one parent to be at home when a child returns from school) and to increase the number and the status of part-time positions. Specifically, the report recommended that state legislatures enact a "Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Act" to prohibit discrimination in job opportunity, rate of pay, fringe benefits and status for parents who sought or engaged in part-time employment.

I should like to report the instructive experience of one state legislator who attempted to put through such a bill, Assemblywoman Constance Cook of New York. Mrs. Cook sent me a copy of her bill as it had been introduced in committee. It began, "No employer shall set as a condition of employment, salary, promotion, fringe benefits, seniority" and so on that an employee who is the parent or guardian of a child under 18 years of age shall be required to work more than 40 hours a week. Forty hours a week, of course, is full time; Mrs. Cook informed me that there was no hope of getting a bill through with a lower limit. It turned out that even 40 hours was too low. The bill was not passed even in committee. The pressure from business and industry was too great, and they insisted on the right to require their employees to work overtime.

(There is a ray of hope, however. In the settlement of the United Automobile Workers' 1973 strike against the Chrysler Corporation a limit was placed for the first time on the company policy of mandatory overtime.)

### 3. Enhancing the Position of Women

These concerns bring me to what I regard as the most important single factor affecting the welfare of the Nation's children. I refer to the place and status of women in American society. Whatever the future trend may be, the fact remains that in our society today the care of children depends overwhelmingly on women, and specifically on mothers. Moreover, with the withdrawal of the social supports for the family to which I alluded above, the position of women and mothers has become more and more isolated. With the breakdown of the community, the neighborhood, and the extended family an increasing responsibility for the care and upbringing of children has fallen on the young mother. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that many young women in America are in revolt. I understand and share their sense of rage, but I fear the consequences of some of the solutions they advocate, which will have the effect of isolating children still further from the kind of care and attention they need.

There is, of course, a constructive implication to this line of thought, in that a major route to the rehabilitation of children and youth in American society lies in the enhancement of the status and power of women in all walks of life--in the home as well as on the job.

## 4. Work and Responsibility

One of the most significant effects of age segregation in our society has been the isolation of children from the world of work. Once children not only saw what their parents did for a living but also shared substantially in the task; now many children have only a vague notion of the parent's job and have had little or no opportunity to observe the parent (or for that matter any other adult) fully engaged in his or her work. Although there is no systematic research evidence on this subject, it appears likely that the absence of such exposure contributes significantly to the growing alienation among children and young people. Experience in other modern urban societies indicates that the ioslation of children from adults in the world of work is not inevitable; it can be countered by creative social innovations. Perhaps the most imaginative and pervasive of these is the common practice in the U.S.S.R., in which a department in a factory, an office, an institute or a business enterprise adopts a group of children as its "wards." The children's group is typically a school classroom, but it may also include a nursery, a hospital ward or any other setting in which children are dealt with collectively. The workers visit the children's group wherever it may be and also invite the youngsters to their place of work in order to familiarize the children with the nature of their activities and with themselves as people. The aim is not vocational education but rather acquaintance with adults as participants in the world of work.

There seems to be nothing in such an approach that would be incompatible with the values and aims of our own society, and this writer has urged its adaptation to the American scene. Acting on this suggestion, David A. Goslin then at the Russell Sage Foundation, and now at the National Academy of Sciences, persuaded the Detroit Free Press to participate in an unusual experiment as a prelude to the White House Conference on Children. By the time it was over two groups of 12-year-old children, one from a slum area and the other predominantly middle class, had spent six to seven hours a day for three days in virtually every department of the newspaper, not just observing but participating actively in the department's work. There were boys and girls in the pressroom, the city room, the advertising department and the delivery department. The employees of the Free Press entered into the experiment with serious misgivings, but as a documentary film[30] that was made of the project makes clear, the children were not bored, nor were the adults--and the paper did get out every day.

The Fair Part-Time Employment Practices Act and the Detroit Free Press experiment are offered as examples, one in the public, the other in the private sector, of the kinds of innovations in policy and practice that are needed if we are to achieve the objective of rebuilding and revitalizing the social contexts that children and families require for their effective function and growth. But even more fundamental are three basic family support systems that are now being provided in every modern society except our own:

1. The United States is now the only industrialized nation that does not insure health care for every family with young children.

2. The United States is the only industrialized nation that does not guarantee a minimum income level for every family with young children.

3. The United States is the only industrialized nation that has not yet established a nationwide program of child care services for children of working mothers.

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[30] "A Place to Meet, A Way to Understand." The National Audio-Visual Center, Washington, D.C. 20409.

Our refusal to meet what other modern nations regard as basic human necessities appears to be grounded in our determined resistance to communism or socialism in any form. Such principled but purblind opposition has driven us to pay an awesome price through our foreign policy in Viet Nam. We must not, for similar reasons, perpetuate a domestic policy which debilitates the Nation's families and, thereby, endangers the integrity of the next generation of Americans.

The future belongs to those nations who are prepared to make and fulfill a primary commitment to their families and their children. For only in this way will it be possible to counteract the alienation, distress, and breakdown of a sense of community that follow in the wake of impersonal technology, materialism, urbanization, and their unplanned, dehumanizing consequences. As a nation, we have not yet been willing to make that commitment. We have continued to measure the worth of our society, and of other countries as well, by the faceless criterions of the GNP--the gross national product. Up til now we continue, in the words of the great American psychologist William James, to "worship the bitch goddess Success."

But today we are being confronted with what for us Americans is an unprecedented, unexpected, and almost unnatural prospect: nothing less than the failure of success! With all the suffering this failure will bring, it may have some redeeming consequences. For, along with Watergate and Viet Nam, it may help bring us to our senses; it may reawaken us to a concern with fundamental values. Among them, none should be more dear than a renewed commitment to the Nation's children and their families, a commitment to change the institutions that now determine and delimit how children and parents live, who can obtain health care for his family, a habitable dwelling, an opportunity to spend time with one's children, or receive help and encouragement from one's community in the demanding and richly gratifying task of enabling the young to develop into competent and compassionate human beings.

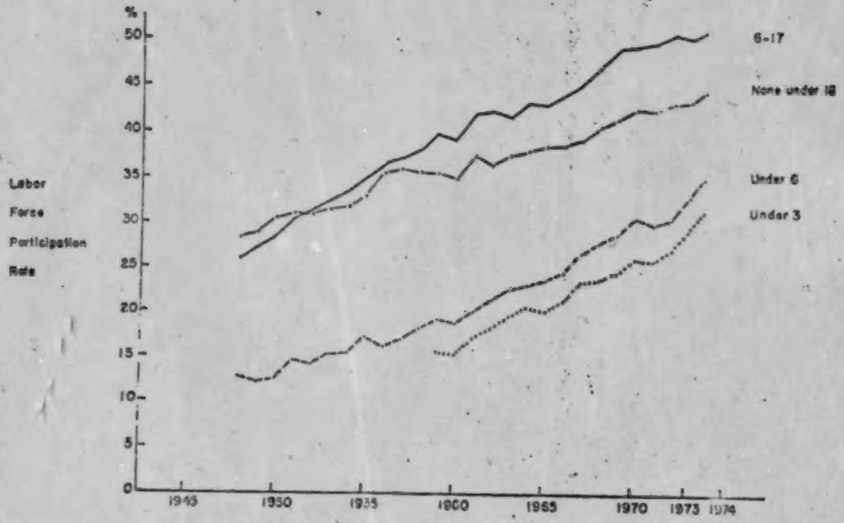

Figure I. Labor Force Participation Rates for Married Women by Presence and Age of Children[1]
1948 - 1973

[1] Data through 1955 from Current Population Reports 1955, P-50, No.62, Table A; from 1956, Special Labor Force Reports 1959, No. 7, Table I and 1974, No. 164, Table 3.

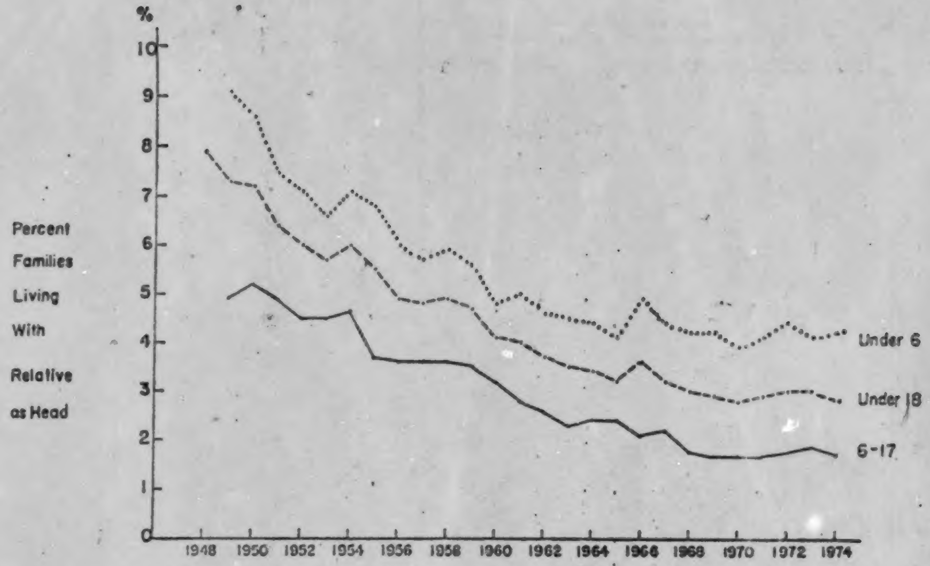

Figure 2. Parent Families Living with a Relative as Family Head as a Percentage of All Families with Children Under 18, Under 6, and 6 through 17 years of age.

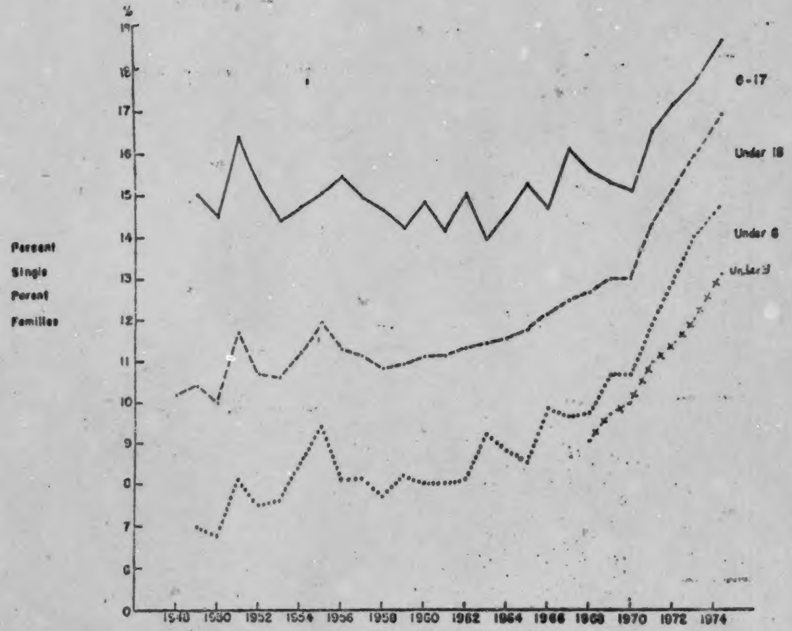

Figure 3. Single Parent Families as a Percentage of All Families with Children Under 18, Under 6, and 6 through 17 years of age

[1] *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, 1948-1973

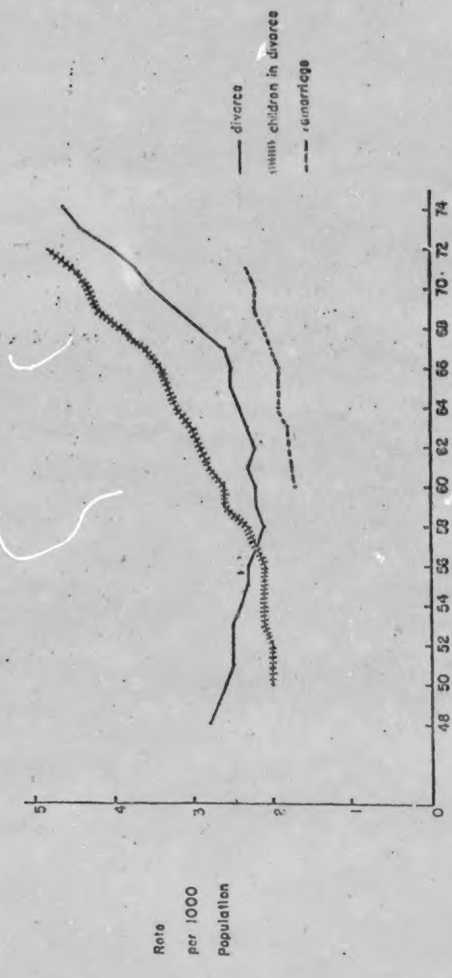

Figure 4. Rates of Divorce, Number of Children in Divorce, and Remarriage

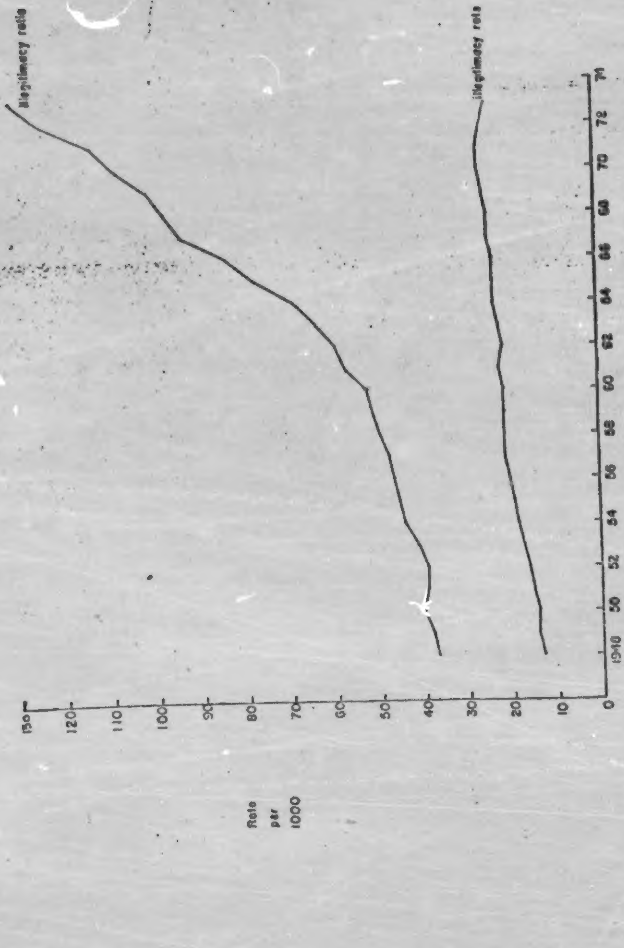

Figure 5. Illegitimate Births per 1000 Live Births (Ratio) and per 1000 Unmarried Women (Rate) 1948 - 1972

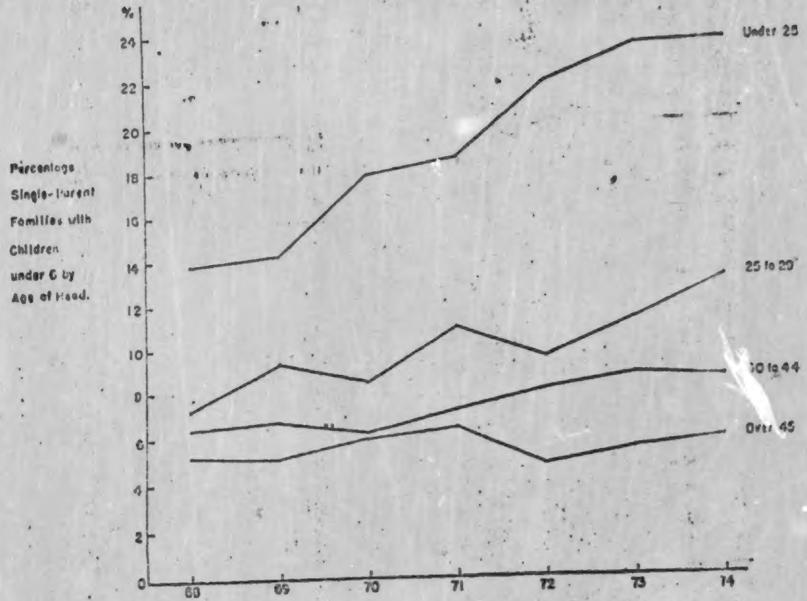

Figure 6. Percentage of Single Parent Family Heads with Children under 6 by Age of Head.

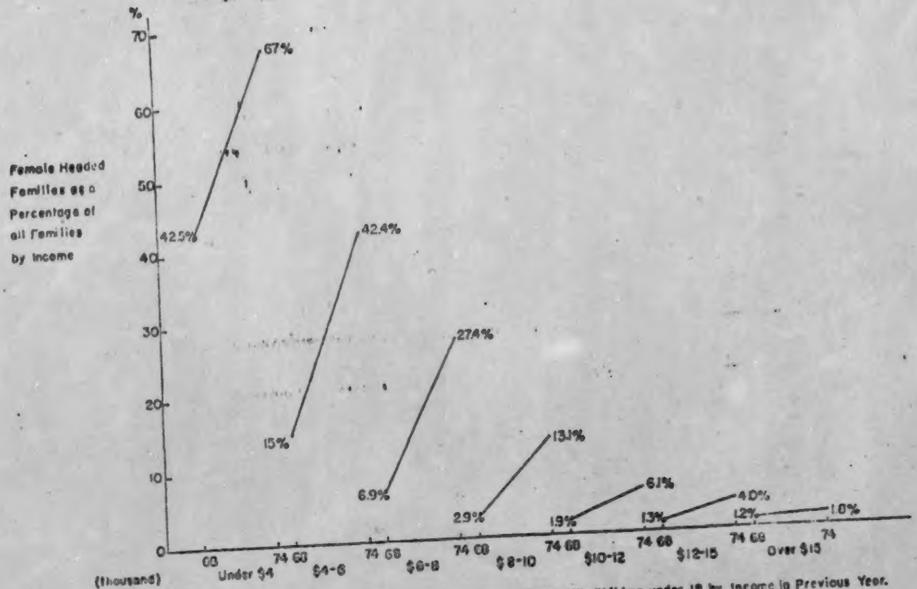

Figure 7. Female Headed Families as a Percentage of All Family Heads Under 65 with Children under 18 by Income in Previous Year. 1968-1974

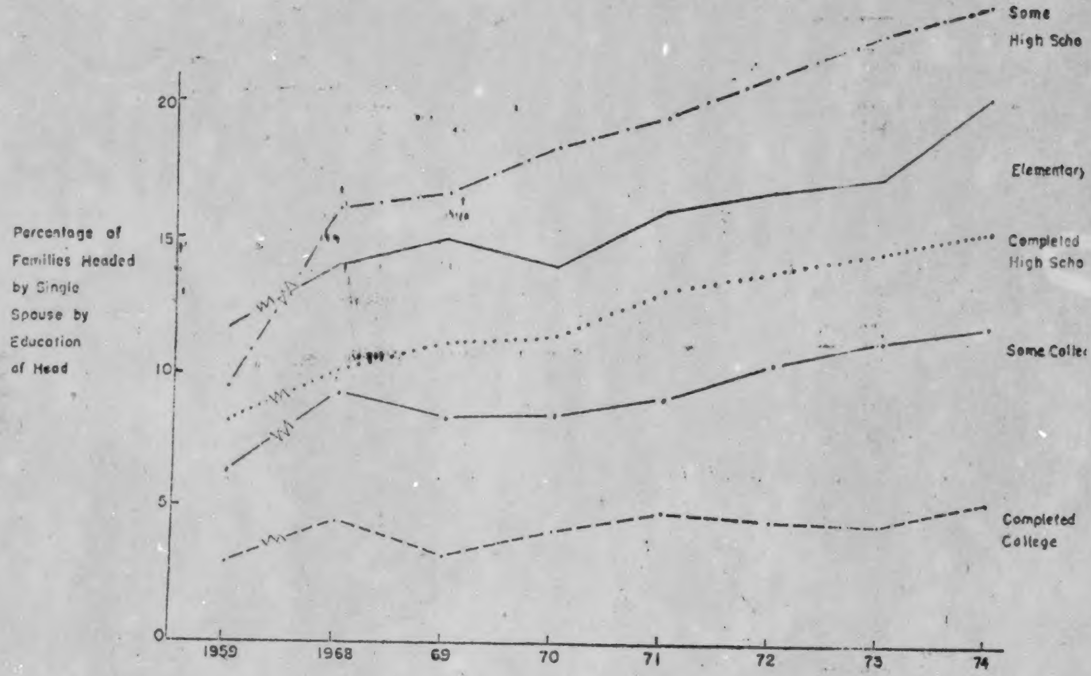

Figure 8. Families Headed by a Single Spouse as a Percentage of all Family Heads with Children under Eighteen 1959-1974

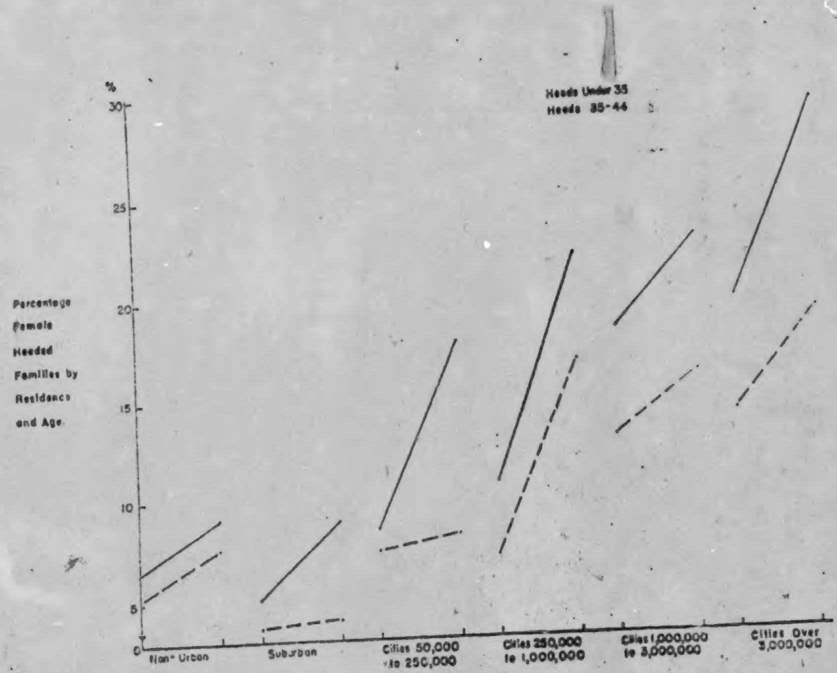

Figure 9. Percentage Female Headed Families with Children under 6, 1968-1974, by Place of Residence and Age of Family Head.

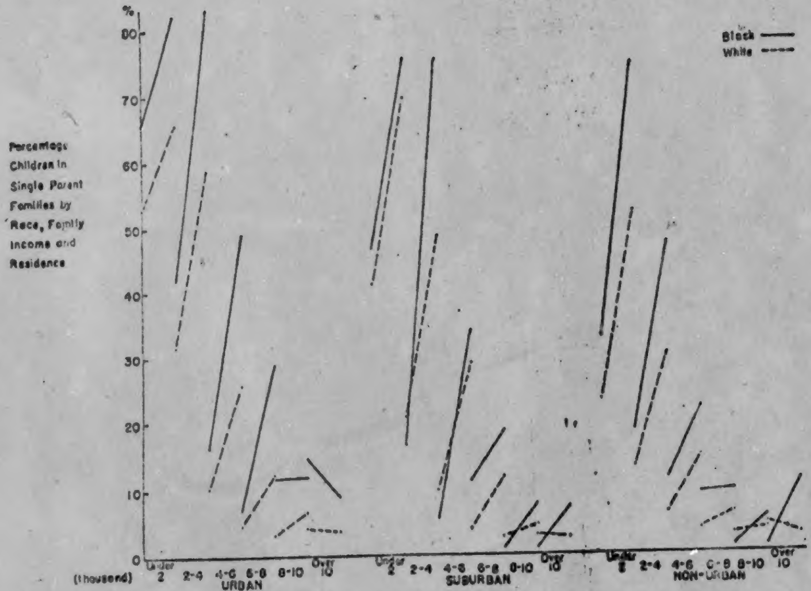

Figure 1a. Percentage of Children in Single Parent Families by Race, Family Income in Previous Year, and Residence.
(Each line segment shows change from 1960-1970)

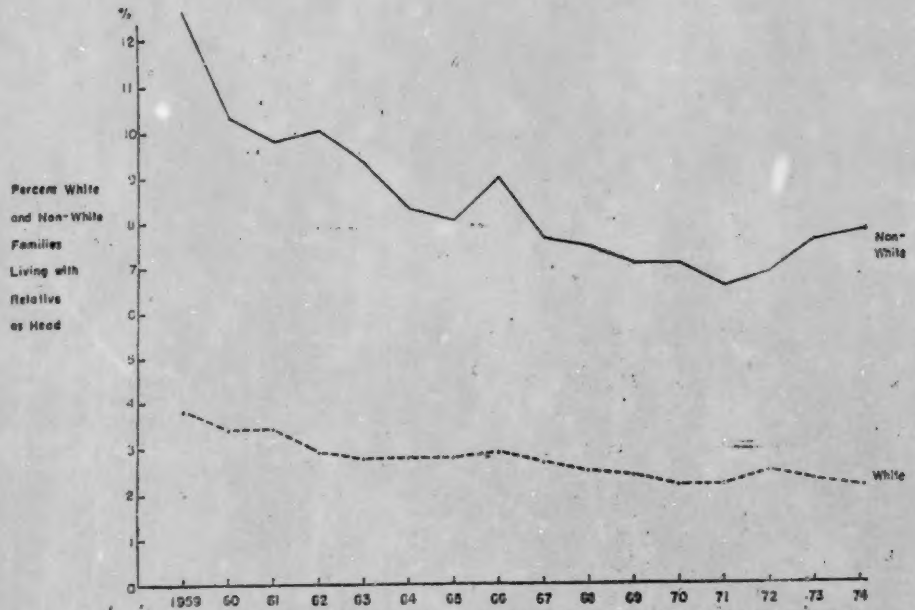

Figure 11. Percentage of White and Non-White Families with Children under 18 Living with a Relative as Family Head. (The base for the percentage is the total number of families for each race with children under 18.)

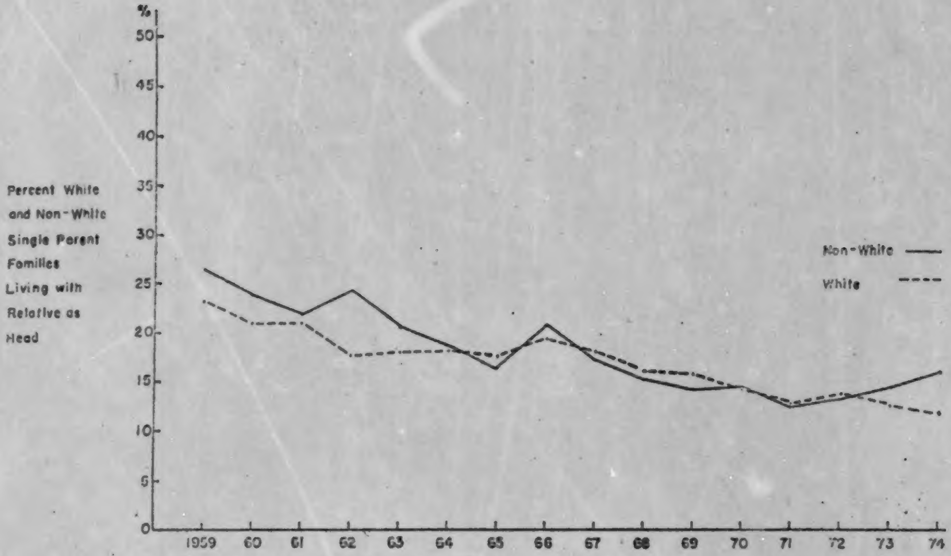

Figure 12. Percentage of White and Non-White Single Parent Families with Children under 18 Living with a Relative as Family Head.

(The base for the percentage is the total number of single parent families for each race with children under 18.)

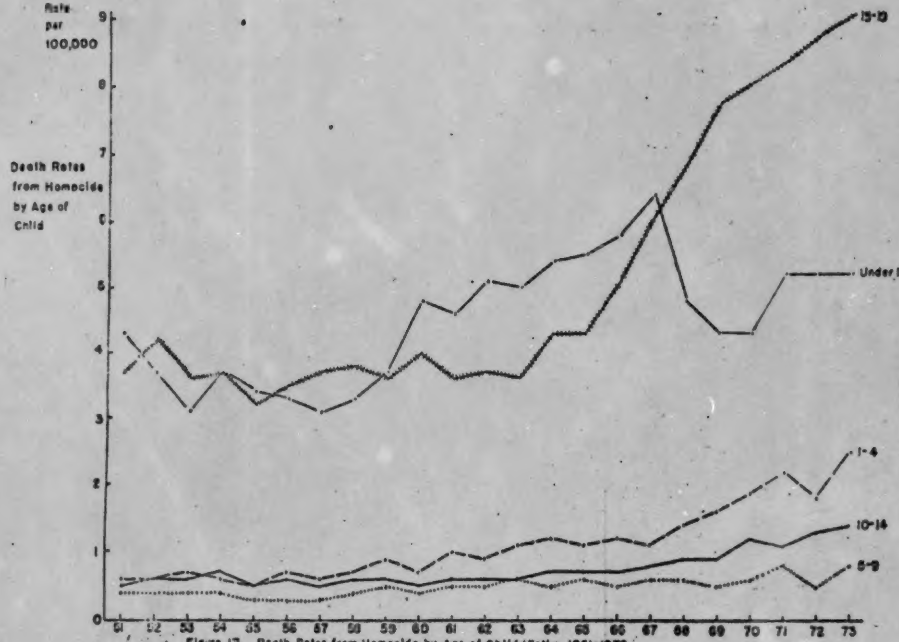

Figure 13. Death Rates from Homocide by Age of Child Victim, 1951-1973.

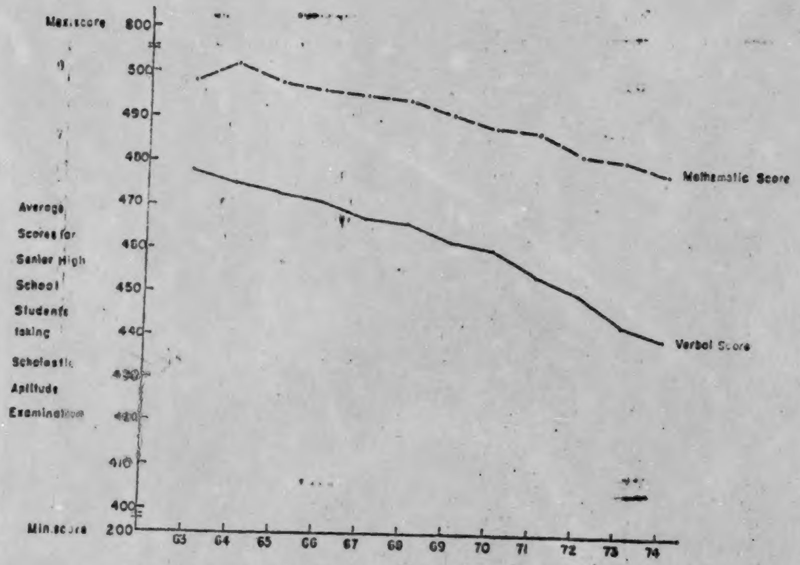

Figure 14. Average Scores for Senior High School Students taking the Scholastic Aptitude Examinations 1963-1974*

*Data provided courtesy Educational Testing Service.

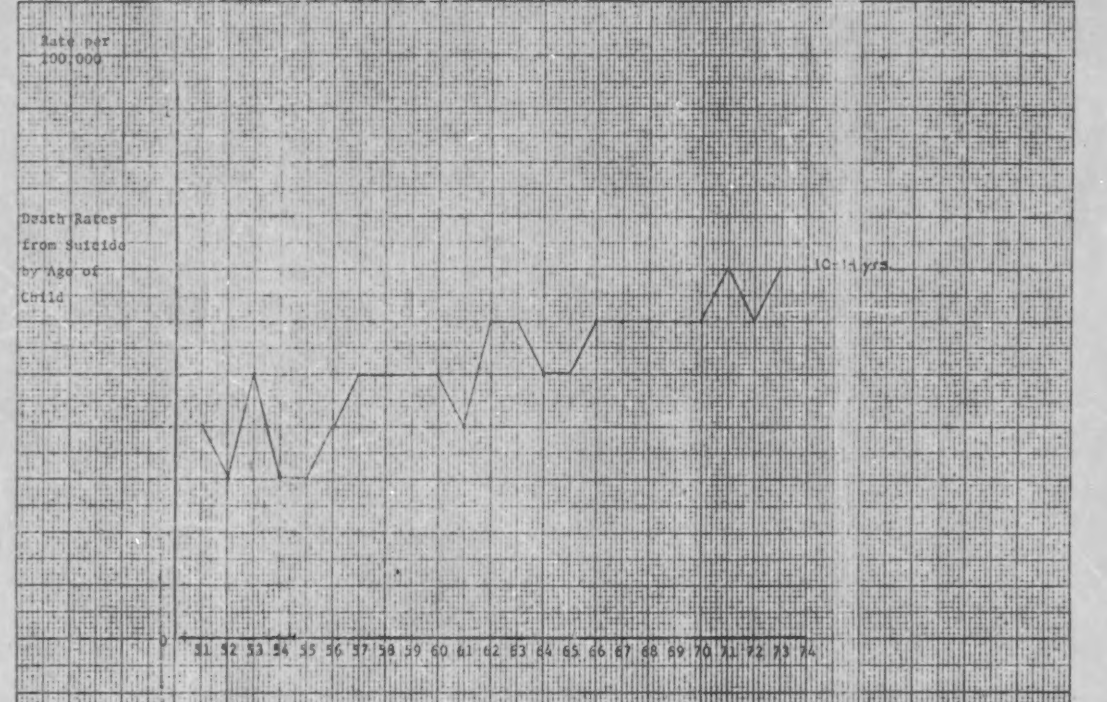

Figure 15. Death Rates from Suicide by Age of Child, 1951-1973

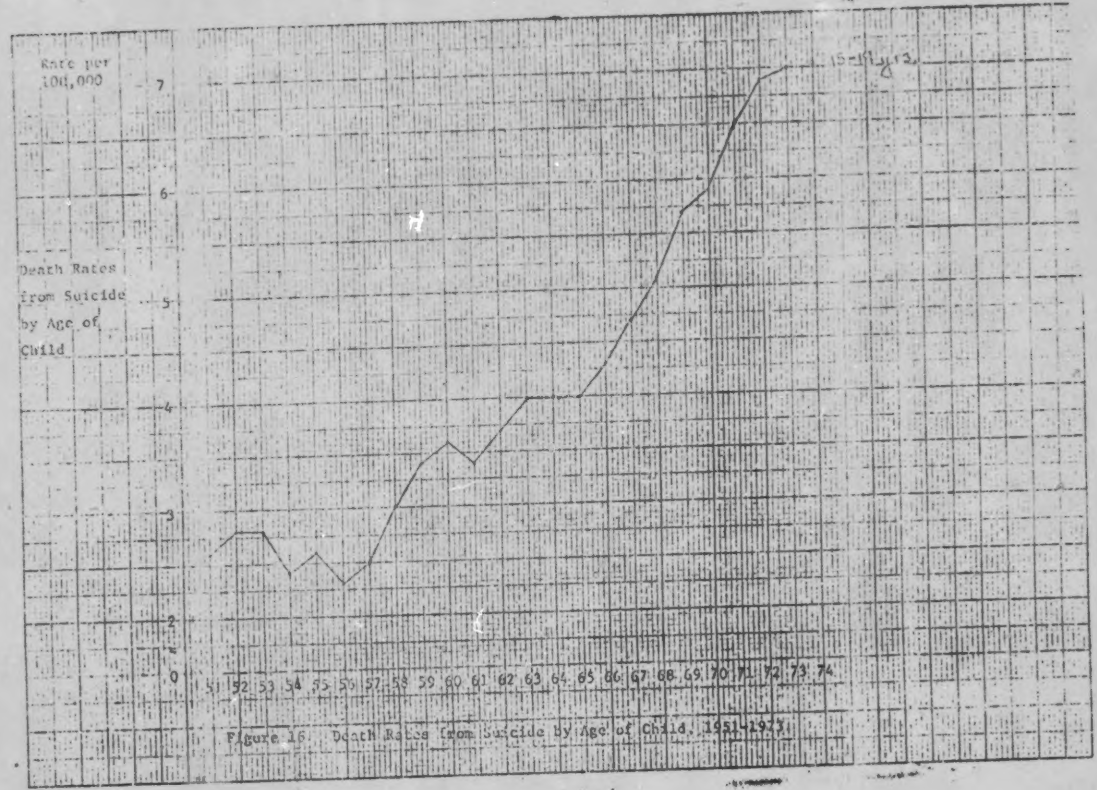

Figure 16. Death Rates from Suicide by Age of Child, 1951-1973

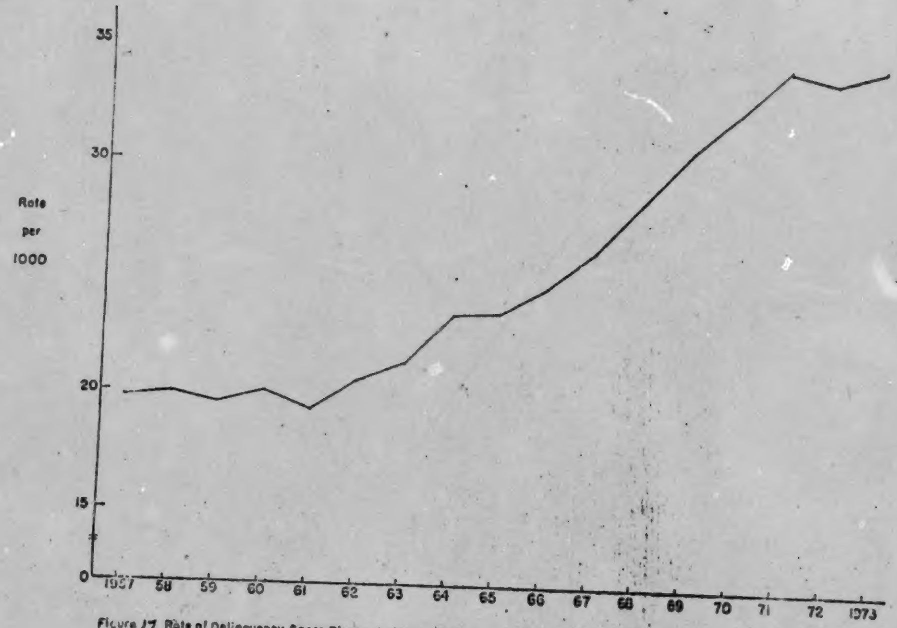

Figure 17. Rate of Delinquency Cases Disposed of by Juvenile Courts Involving Children 10 through 17 years of age.

EXHIBIT B

## Research on the Effects of Day Care[1]

Urie Bronfenbrenner
Cornell University

Clearly one of the essential components of any comprehensive program designed to meet the needs of families with young children at risk is provision for some form of substitute care when the mother is working or ill and no other caretaker is available. A critical issue that inevitably arises in this context is the effect upon the child of such substitute care in its various forms, most commonly group versus family care. A related concern is the influence of a qualifying factor, the length of time the child is left in substitute care, for example part-time versus full-time day care.

These issues were originally raised in the perspective of theory and research bearing on the debilitating effects of institutionalization on the behavior and development of young children (Bowlby, 1951; Spitz, 1945). It is now generally recognized, however, that such debilitating effects, while real enough, come about only when physical and social deprivation have occurred to an extreme degree over an extended period of time. Hence the numerous studies on the effects of substitute care when it is provided, as it is in the majority of cases, in a stimulating physical environment by experienced caretakers, and involves only a temporary separation from the mother.

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[1] This review was prepared in connection with the author's responsibilities as a member of the Advisory Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences.

[2] For a comprehensive review of the substantial body of research bearing on this issue, see Newton, G. and Levine, S. (1968), especially the final integrative chapter by Bronfenbrenner.

The possibility remains, however, that, even with high quality care provided in each setting, there may still be differences in the behavior and development of children as a function of the type of care which they are given. Well designed research studies bearing on this issue are few in number,[3] but they do provide important information and a basis for some tentative conclusions in four areas:

1. Differences in type of care and experiences provided.

Two observational studies, one conducted in the United States (Prescott, 1973), another in Sweden (Crochran, 1974a, 1974b) have documented differences in caretaker behavior and in the experiences available to the child in group day care, family day care, and in his own home. In both countries, despite considerable variation from center to center and home to home, there were systematic differences in child care and experience, especially between group vs. family settings. Specifically, both in the United States and in Sweden, interactions with adults were more frequent and more intense in home settings (both family day care and own home) than in centers. In addition, in both societies, the home situation appears to have provided more opportunity and instigation for cognitive exploration. In the Swedish study, this point is discussed in greater detail.

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[3] A major methodological pitfall in studies of various types of child care is failure to control for differences in family background of the children (e.g., income, education, family size, father-absence, mother's working status, etc.) Because of their uninterpretable and often contradictory results, studies with inadequate controls have been eliminated from consideration here. Also excluded as going beyond the scope of day care in terms of purpose and practicability are experimental programs specially designed to provide cognitive enrichment for preschool children, particularly from low income families. For a comprehensive evaluation of such programs see Bronfenbrenner (1974) and White (1973).

> The interactions which distinguish the homes from the centers were cognitive verbal (reading, labeling, face-to-face verbalizing) and exploratory in nature. The exploring in the homes involved a child's playing with objects not designed to be played with (plants, pots and pans, mother's lipstick, etc.). (Cochran, 1974b)

This last circumstance relates to a qualitative difference in adult-child interaction reported in the Swedish study.

> There were more instances where negative sanctions were applied in the homes than in the centers, and these instances often involved the exploring by the home or day home child of "no-no's" not available to children in the centers. (ibid)

While the foregoing differences are substantial, they must be interpreted with caution. The number of centers and family day care homes represented in both studies was not large (between 12 and 34 of each type in each country). More importantly, the children in both samples came mostly from intact, essentially middle class families, and the substitute care was of good quality. The pattern of results might be rather different for low income families or for day care programs of poor quality. Second, with respect to the higher levels of adult-child interactions in family settings, as Cochran points out (1974a), the presence of an observer is a much less common event in the home than at the center, and this circumstance may have inflated the tendency of the caretaker to engage in verbal exchanges with the child. Finally, and most importantly, the existence of differences in physical setting or the behavior of the caretaker does not, by itself, imply a necessary effect on the behavior and development of the child. We turn next to an examination of available data bearing directly on this issue.

### 2. Effects on intellectual development.

Of the four comparative studies of children reared in day care vs. home care that provide data bearing on cognitive performance, none revealed any substantial effects.

Cochran (1974a, 1974b), in the research previously mentioned, tested all his 120 subjects successively at 12, 15, and 18 months of age with the Griffiths Mental Development Scale. There were no significant differences in total score, and the means for the three groups were quite similar.

Winett et al, (no date) studied 81 children, 3 to 5 1/2 years old, reared in four types of settings: 1) in all-day child care centers; 2) for the full day with a babysitter and one to four other children present (in other words, family day care); 3) in half-day center or babysitter care; and 4) at home all day with the mother. The children came from intact, predominately white, middle class families, and had been in the given setting for at least nine months. Since all the center programs included a cognitively-oriented curriculum, the major hypothesis of the study was that children in full-time group day care would score higher on intellectual, social, and linguistic measures than youngsters in the other three types of arrangements. Of the four tests of psychological development that were administered—the Illinois Test of Linguistic Abilities, the Peabody Picture Vocabularly Test, a social developmental scale, and a preschool scale specially developed for the study, only the last showed significant differences across the four groups, after control for possibly confounding family background variables. According to the authors, the instrument measured "number and letter recognition, printing and counting abilities, short-term memory, and knowledge of simple addition and informational facts." The highest average on this measure was achieved by the mixed group exposed to half-day substitute care. The next highest mean was obtained by the children cared for at home by their mothers; youngsters in full-time group day care were next; and those cared for by a babysitter received the lowest scores. On the basis of this result, the authors concluded:

> While these data can be interpreted as suggesting that children in alternative childrearing situations are not harmed by their experience, it can also be seen as somewhat disappointing and not supportive of some of the original hypotheses which predicted superior performance by day care children. This was particularly surprising since all the centers had "preschool" programs which would presumably enhance a child's score on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, and the preschool screener.

Again, caution is indicated in the interpretation of what, in this instance, the authors view essentially as a finding of no difference. To begin with, although the results for the other three measures of cognitive performance were all non-significant, the rank order of the means on each test across the four child care settings was exactly the same as for the significant results of the preschool scale, with the youngsters receiving full or part-time care in the family scoring higher than those in full-time substitute care. But even if all the group differences had been reliable, we still would not know whether exposure to the different types of child care had any lasting effect on the children, for example, on their subsequent school performance.

A third study, conducted by Schwarz et al. (1974), differs from the two preceeding studies in three important respects. First, the assessments of cognitive function were not based on psychological tests, but on systematic observations of children's behavior in a preschool setting. Second, whereas in the two previous studies, the children had typically been in substitute care for less than a year, Schwarz's day care subjects, "had been in a high quality infant day care program continuously from about nine months of age." Third, the sample of 19 pairs was drawn from a lower socio-economic level than that represented in the two previous studies. About half of the parents had not completed high school, and almost half of the homes had an absent father.

After four months in the new center, and again four months later, the children were rated, when they were between 3 and 4 years old, both by teachers and trained graduate student observers, on 9 behavior scales.

Although highly consistent and significant differences were found in the emotional and social spheres (see below), there were no reliable effects for the three cognitive variables ("problem solving" , "ability to abstract", and "planfullness".) These negative findings are corroborated by the results of an earlier study employing these same day care children as subjects (Lally, Lindstrom, Meyer, and Lay, 1971). A comparison of the two groups revealed no significant differences in measures of intellectual development such as the Stanford-Binet.

All three of the foregoing studies are limited to the immediate effects of type of care on cognitive development. There remains the possibility of longer range consequences that do not become apparent until later. Only one investigation speaks to this issue, albeit far from definitively. In contradiction to their hypothesis on the advantages of cognitive development, Fowler and Khan (1974) found essentially no difference in Binet IQ at age five between eleven matched pairs of day care and home-reared, middle class children three years after the former had graduated from an "enriched" program in which they had been enrolled during the first two years of life.

Taken as a whole, the findings on the influence of type of care on intellectual development are essentially negative; but, again, must be interpreted with several important qualifications in mind: First, the results are based on only a few studies. Second, the day care centers represented are small in number and limited to those providing high quality care. Third, and most serious, the available data on possible long range effects are limited to a single study with a single measure (IQ) based on a sample of only eleven pairs of children, and providing information only through the fifth year of life. It may well be that type of care does make some difference in other aspects of cognitive development or that effects do not become apparent until the child enters school. As of now, we have no way of knowing, and will not know until much needed follow-up studies are carried out.

Given these uncertainties, no firm conclusions can be drawn about the impact of day vs. home care on the cognitive development of the child.[4] About all that can be said is that the existing evidence does not justify claims for the superiority of one context over another, so far as intellectual growth is concerned during the preschool years.[5] [illegible] future research.

## 3. Day Care and Attachment

Paradoxically, the evidence on the effects of day care is least conclusive with respect to the problem of greatest initial concern and the one to which most attention has been given in research. A number of psychiatrists and psychologists have argued, primarily on the basis of propositions derived from psychoanalytic theory and from research on institutionalized children (e.g., Baers 1954; Bowlby 1951; Goldfarb 1943; Ribble 1943; Spitz 1945) that any arrangement that deprives the child of continuous access to the mother impairs the development of a strong attachment between the mother and child and, thereby, adversely affects the child's emotional security in general. This orientation has generated a now massive body of research (Maccoby & Masters 1970, Ainsworth 1973) on mother-child attachment, separation, and their effects, particularly on the child's response to strangers in strange situations.

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[4] A somewhat clearer picture obtains for experimental preschool programs specially designed to provide cognitive enrichment for young children from low income families. Compared to matched no-treatment controls, those enrolled showed greater gains in cognitive function, as measured by standardized tests, but the differences tended to "wash out" once the program was over and the children had entered regular school. A possible exception occurred for intervention strategies involving high levels of participation by the parent in activities with the child, but such programs appeared to attract and hold children primarily from the least disadvantaged families. For a comprehensive evaluation see Bronfenbrenner (1974) and White (1973).

Working in this perspective five investigators have compared the emotional responses of children reared primarily in day care vs. home environments.

Ricciuti (1974) examined reactions to a stranger after separation from the mother in two matched groups of 10 infants. Those in the first group had been placed in experimental nursery between two and six months of age. When observed, the infants were in their second year of life and had been in group care for eight to ten months, six for the full day, and four for half the day. Infants in the matched control group were without group care experience. Ricciuti reports that "there was a substantially greater negative reaction to the stranger following the mother's departure in the day care sample...than in the non-day care group." Moreover, "six of the day care children, in contrast to three in the non-day care group, were sufficiently upset to require mother's return." Given the small N, however, neither of these differences was statistically significant. Moreover, because the day care children had been brought to an adjoining building for purposes of the experiment rather than to the familiar nursery, Ricciuti suggests that the experience may have been more "dissonant" for the day care than for the home reared infants, although the latter, of course, were also in unfamiliar territory. Finally, in another phase of the study, day care infants, in comparison with those raised at home, were somewhat more willing to approach a group of older preschoolers when given an opportunity to do so, with the mother nearby but out of direct vision.

Working with infants of about the same age, Cochran in his Swedish study (1974a) conducted a similar separation experiment, but in the child's home rather than at the center. Two indices of separation anxiety were employed, crying, and attempts to follow the mother. Although day care children were somewhat more likely to cry upon the mother's departure, the difference was not significant, and "following scores" were very similar for the two groups. There was also no difference between the groups in the children's use of security objects such as blankets, stuffed animals, and pacifiers.

Caldwell et al. (1970) evaluated the child's attachment to the mother in a sample of 41 2-1/2 year olds, 18 of whom had been enrolled in a high quality center program from the time they were about a year old.[5] The remaining 23 children had received primary care from their mothers from birth. Most of the subjects were from lower class families and a quarter had no father in the home. Assessment of the child's attachment to the mother was based on ratings on seven scales made by a staff member after an intensive, semi-structured interview with the mother. None of these ratings showed a significant difference between these two groups.

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[5] These same children were employed almost a year later as subjects in the observational study by Schwarz et al. (1974) described above.

Two observational studies revealed an advantage in emotional adjustment for children with prior day care experience. Schwarz and Wynn (1971), in an investigation of factors affecting children's emotional reaction to starting nursery school, found a difference in the degree of distress exhibited after separation from the mother on the part of youngsters who had versus those who had not previously spent time "in the absence of the mother with a group of three or more children for at least one hour once a week for a month." Observations were made at the point when the mother left after having brought her child to the nursery school, periodically thereafter throughout the first day, and in follow-up sessions one week and four weeks later. An overall measure of distress at separation (based on such behavior as hanging on to the mother, crying, or resisting entry into nursery activities) revealed a significantly higher score for children without prior group experience. No reliable differences in emotional reaction or social behavior were detected, however, less than an hour later, nor in the two follow-up sessions at one and four weeks.

Schwarz and his associates also built into their research two important experimental manipulations which were counterbalanced to permit an independent assessment of the effect of each. For a random half of the children, with and without prior group experience, the mothers brought their children to the nursery for a 20-minute visit with the child's future teacher during the week preceeding the start of school.

The other half were not given an opportunity for such a warm-up experience. Cutting across this experimental treatment in a balanced fashion was another, in which half the mothers were encouraged to remain at the nursery for 20 minutes for the first session, whereas the other half were asked to depart as soon as the child hung up his coat. Contrary to the author's hypotheses, neither of these strategies designed to reduce distress upon separation from the mother showed significant main effects.

The authors summarize the results and conclusions of the entire study as follows:

> ...children who had had prior group experience on a regular basis outside of the home were less apprehensive about the mother's departure. However, even this difference was not detectable beyond the first 40 minutes of nursery school. These results suggest that most children in comparable samples will readily adapt themselves to the nursery school situation without special procedures and that previsits and the presence of the mother are not effective in reducing adverse reactions to nursery school (Schwarz and Wynn, 1971, p. 879).

In a second study, Schwarz et al (1973) used as subjects the same day care children employed in Caldwell's investigation but at a point when they had just been transferred to a new center and were having to adjust to a new environment. The controls consisted of children without prior day care experience matched on age, sex, race, and parental education and occupation. Observations were made of the children's behavior during the first day at the center with a follow-up five weeks later. Attention was focused on signs of tension vs. relaxation, expressions of positive or negative affect, and extent of social interaction with peers. The authors summarize the results of the second investigation as follows:

> ...The findings of the present study failed to support the view that the early day care experience leads to emotional insecurity. On the contrary, the early group exhibited a more positive affective response upon arrival in the new day care setting and tended to remain happier than the matched group of new day care children through the fifth week. If the many hours of separation from home and parents (occasioned by early enrollment in day care) had produced insecurity, one would have expected the early group to be unhappy, tense, and socially withdrawn or "clingy" in reaction to the uncertainty of being left in a new facility with a lot of unfamiliar adults and children. Instead their initial affective reaction was on the average positive, whereas that of the non-day care group was initially negative. The early group, rather than being withdrawn and "clingy", exhibited a high level of peer interaction, significantly higher than that of the late group and tended to be less tense than the late group.

> ...It may be concluded that no evidence was found for the proposition that infant day care with its attendant separation from the mother leads to emotional insecurity. On the contrary, early-day care subjects were more comfortable upon entering a new group care setting than non-day care subjects. The greater security of the early group may have derived, in part, from the presence of peers to whom they had developed strong attachments. (Schwarz et al.)

Strikingly different results and conclusions, however, are reported in an experiment by Blehar (1975). Her subjects were 40 children between two and three years of age, from intact middle class families. Half of the youngsters had been enrolled in full-time day care, at several different centers, for about five months, and half had been cared for by their mothers at home. The research procedure was the usual one of observing the child's reaction to a stranger after the departure of the mother. In this instance, the experiment was carried out in an unfamiliar room at the university. Under these circumstances, there were marked and reliable differences in the behavior of children from the two child care settings. Upon being left with the stranger, the day care group showed significantly more signs of separation anxiety (as evidenced by such behavior as crying, attempting to follow the mother, and a decrease of exploratory behavior) and resistance and hostility both toward the stranger and toward the mother upon her return (in contrast to more positive responses on the part of home-reared youngsters). Moreover, in the day care group the intensity of the negative reaction was greater for the older children (age 3 1/2) than for the younger ones (age 2 1/2), whereas in the home reared group, the older children were less disturbed by the separation. Blehar interprets her findings as indicating "qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relationship in day care children..attributed to the disruptive effects of frequent daily separations". At the policy level, she raises the issue "of whether alternative methods of care, such as family day care or part-time group care are more suited to children's needs than full-time care."

While the issue is indeed an important one, there are questions to be raised about Blehar's conclusions. First, one must ask whether day care is indeed the crucial factor. For there is the possibility, acknowledged by Blehar, that, in the absence of random assignment, the obtained results may be due to differences between two groups that preexisted the day care experience. To be sure, Blehar went to considerable effort to insure comparability in the personal characteristics and family backgrounds of the day care and home-reared children. The groups were matched in age and sex, and all came from intact middle class families. To check on possible differences in the home environment and child rearing practices, Blehar administered the Caldwell Inventory of Home Stimulation, an instrument based on observations of mother-child interactions during a home visit and the presence or absence of such items as books, toys, or pets. There were no differences between the two groups in total scores for the inventory or any of its subscales. Nor did the mothers differ on a Q-sort measure of maternal empathy and social sensitivity. Since there were more first-borns among day care than home reared children, Blehar checked for possible differences in attachment behavior as a function of birth order. Again, the differences were non-significant.

Nevertheless, the question remains whether a family who places a child under three in full-time day care may not differ from one that keeps the infant at home with respect to goals and methods of child rearing in ways that would not be detected on an inventory of the home situation, but could yet result in differences in the child's response to a strange adult in a strange situation.

Second, there is the problem of reconciling Blehar's results with the essentially contradictory findings of other investigators. With regard to the Ricciuti and Cochran studies of infants in the second year of life, Blehar's findings are not really challenged, since there is ample research evidence (cf. Newton and Levine 1968) that a distinctive mother-child attachment is not yet fully developed among infants under two, so that maternal separation is not likely to be traumatic. As for Caldwell's negative results with two and three-year olds, it can be argued, again justifiably, that her conclusions are considerably weakened by the indirect and possibly subjective character of her data (i.e. interviewers' ratings based on inferences from mothers' comments about their children's behavior).

With regard to the finding of Schwarz et al. (1971, 1973) that children with prior experience in group care showed a better adjustment upon entering a new day care setting, a closer examination of the procedures and data in these studies leads to some important qualifications both of the results and the interpretations. It will be recalled that, in the first research on reactions following separation from the mother on the first day of nursery school, significant effects as a function of prior group experience were short-lived and no longer detectable after the first 40 minutes of nursery school, let alone in the follow-up observations one week and four weeks after this critical event. Moreover, it turns out on inspection that, in the second Schwarz study of adjustment to a new day care environment, significant differences ($p \leq .05$) in emotional reaction (as distinguished from non-significant trends) were also restricted to observations made upon the first day while the newcomers were "hanging their wraps, and for two minutes thereafter." It was during this initial period that the home-reared children were seen to "cry, pout, or whimper" more often, and "express intense dislike" as opposed to exhibiting "laughter or giggling, or verbal expression of strong liking." Moreover, according to information provided in the original report, on the first day all of the home-reared children had been picked up by bus so that their parents did not come with them to the center (although one third of the youngsters with prior day experience were brought in by their parents). In other words, the children in the first group were being observed just after they had been separated from their parents to enter a new and strange environment for the first time. Given Blehar's theoretical perspective, one could argue that the greater distress exhibited by the home-reared group under these circumstances is consistent with rather than contradictory to her findings.

It will be recalled, however, that in Schwarz's earlier study, in which all the newcomers had been accompanied by the mothers, it was the children without prior peer experience who were the most distressed, and neither a prior visit to the nursery nor the mother's remaining in the nursery for some time before leaving allayed the child's distress once she departed. Also, the fact remains that, in Schwarz's second study, home-reared children, compared to those with prior day care experience, still showed lower levels of interaction with peers five weeks after entering into the new center.[6]

In the light of these facts, how are we to reconcile Schwarz's clear and consistent findings that home-reared children show greater distress and poorer adjustment in a new day care environment with Blehar's equally salient and reliable results documenting more acute anxiety, resistance and hostility in the reactions of day care vs. home-reared children when left with an unfamiliar adult in the "strange situation" experiment.

This brings us to the third and most critical question challenging Blehar's conclusion: what does the child's behavior in the strange situation actually measure? Though the differences reported by Blehar are substantial, reliable, and logically consistent, they do not, in our view, establish a case for "qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relationship." The term "relationship" implies an enduring, generalized pattern of reciprocal feelings and acts that cut across both time and setting. But Blehar's results were obtained in a situation that was at least unusual, if not artificial, and one that rarely occurs in the life of a two to three-year old: the youngster was brought to an unfamiliar room in an unfamiliar building; his mother sat in a chair reading a magazine; then a person entered whom the child had never seen before; after a few words of conversation, the mother left her two to three-year old with a complete stranger, who, in turn, remained passive, responding only to the child's initiative. Under these circumstances, most children have shown signs of anxiety and some have exhibited resistance toward the stranger and toward the mother upon her return (Maccoby & Masters, 1970; Ainsworth, 1973). In Blehar's experiment youngsters who had been in day care exhibited these reactions to a greater degree than children who had been cared for at home. It is one thing to conclude that the former experienced greater distress at being left with a stranger in a strange situation; it is quite another to generalize from the same evidence, and attribute disturbance to the total mother-child relationship as it manifests itself in other situations and at other times, in the past and in the future.

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[6] We shall consider the implication of this finding below in reviewing research on the effects of day care on children's group behavior.

The last phrase calls attention to another significant limitation of the "strange situation" experiment. In Blehar's research, as in all others that have employed this procedure to date, the child is left alone with the stranger for only a short time--three minutes in the present instance. Moreover, in the earlier Schwarz study, the significant differences in distress initially manifested by children with and without prior group experience were no longer detectable within 40 minutes after the mother's departure. The question arises, therefore, how long the child's distress in the "strange situation" experiment would last, (especially if other children were present) and, more significantly, how generalizable the situation and the child's reaction are to the rest of his life.[14] In particular, the inference ~~of~~ that the intensity of expressed distress reflects impairment of the emotional bond between mother and child must wait upon solid research clearly addressed to this issue. Hence, on the basis of the available evidence, the conclusion that group day care results in "qualitative disturbances in the mother-child relation" seems, at the very least, premature.

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[14] It is such limitations of [illegible] rigorous, but artificial laboratory experiments that have led the Committee to recommend extending well-designed experiments to real life situations (see Chapter __, pp. ___).

But just as the existing data do not warrant regarding day care as an emotionally harmful experience, they do not rule out the possibility of some negative effects. Given Blehar's findings, as distinguished from the broad interpretations she gives them, the possibility exists that the same psychological forces that lead the young day-care child to be more anxious with a stranger in a laboratory experiment may induce some measure of dysfunction in other, more common, situations in every day life. It is to be kept in mind that in both the studies favoring children with prior experience in group care (Schwarz, et al., 1971, 1973), the youngsters were being observed at the center with age mates present. When seen in situations without peers, such children have not exhibited a better adjustment. On the contrary, in Blehar's experiment, after only five months of day care, they showed significantly greater distress, and, in the Ricciuti and Cochran studies, similar but non-significant trends were found among infants at an age before the mother-child attachment is yet fully developed. To be sure, two of these experiments, (Blehar's and Ricciuti's) were conducted in a strange and artificial laboratory situation, but the third (Cochran's) had been carried out in the child's own home. It may well be, therefore, that by three years of age, day care children do display less adaptive responses to stressful situations in which age mates are not present, under conditions that are not artificial, and could occur fairly often in every day life; for example, being left with a new babysitter, staying over night in a strange place, or even experiencing frustration in a familiar setting such as the home. Accordingly, until researches are carried out comparing the behavior of day care and home-reared children outside the center or other peer group settings, the possibility that children raised in full day group care may be less adaptive to stress and less secure in relations with adults remains an open one. Indeei, as we shall see in the next section on social behavior, research evidence does indicate that children reared in day care, compared to age mates raised at home, exhibited more negative reactions to adults, and were described as slower in acquisition of some adult cultural values.

In the light of these circumstances, prudence dictates that the possibility of negative emotional consequences of extended group care for children under three years of age be considered in public policy and practice, and programs so designed as to foster the development of stable emotional relationships between the child and his principal caretakers. In this regard, Ricciuti & Poresky (1973) has demonstrated that, along with the mother, a familiar caretaker becomes a significant attachment figure for the infant in day care as early as the first year of life. His research points to "the importance of a relatively high degree of continuity and stability in the staff," and of ensuring high ratios of adults to children, especially for infants under three years of age. In addition, the finding in one experiment that neither an advance visit with the mother to the nursery (in the absence of other children), nor her remaining for 20 minutes on the first day was effective in reducing the child's distress upon the mother's departure should not deter researchers and practitioners from experimenting with other arrangements that might enable parents to enter frequently and for more extended periods into the day care setting, and to engage in activities jointly with the young child and his principal caretakers.

## 4. Effects on Motivation and Social Behavior

The most clear and consistent differences between home-reared children and those in day care appear in the realm of motivation and social behavior in group settings. The most recent and comprehensive data in this sphere are reported in the latest (Schwarz et al., 1974) of what is in effect a series of panel studies of the same sample at the Syracuse Children's Center (Caldwell et al., 1970; Lay and Meyer, 1973; Schwarz et al., 1971; Schwarz et al., 1973). As described earlier, these data consist of ratings of 19 matched pairs of three to four-year olds, on nine behavior scales four months after the children had been enrolled in a new day care center, and again four months later. This was the first substitute care experienced by the home-reared youngsters, whereas the others had been in group care at another center since about nine months of age.

The two groups differed significantly on three of the nine scales. Most markedly, day care children exceeded their home-reared counterparts in aggression, both physical and verbal, whether toward peers or adults. They were also less cooperative in relation to grown ups and engaged in more running about as against sitting in one place. An additional difference, significant at the ten percent level only, suggested greater tolerance for frustration on the part of home-reared children (as reflected in the ability to accept failure and to be interrupted). Whereas the present investigation detected no difference between the group in "the ability to get along with peers," another observational study of what appear to be the same samples at about the same time (Lay and Meyer, 1973) indicated that the day care children interacted more with age mates than adults, whereas, the opposite obtained for the children who had been brought up at home. There were also some indications that the children with prior day care experience (who had all been previously enrolled in the same center) exhibited more positive social interactions, and tended to socialize more with their own group. Finally, Lay and Meyer found that, compared with home-reared children, three to four-year olds who had been in all day group care for most of their lives spent more time in the large muscle activity area of the center, and less in the expressive and cognitive areas.

Evidence consistent with the results of the Syracuse research comes from a study by Moore (1964, cited by Schwarz et al., 1974). According to the citation, Moore found that children who had experienced substitute care before age five were significantly more self-assertive, less conforming, less impressed by punishment, less averse to dirt, and more prone to toilet lapses than a home care group equated on a number of demographic variables (Schwarz et al., 1974, p. 505).

Other, partially supportive data come from an observational study by Raph et al. (1964) of 97 middle and upper class first graders in New York City. These investigators found that negative interactions toward teachers (but not toward peers) varied directly with the amount of prior exposure to group experience in nursery and kindergarten (ranging from one to three years).

In a similar vein, Lippman and Grote (1974), in a matched sample of 198 four-year olds cared for in licensed day care centers, licensed family day care homes, and own families, assessed cooperative behavior in two games in which children from similar day care arrangements were paired as partners. In the first game, requiring spontaneous help to open a box with four spring latches, there were no significant differences by type of care. In the second, involving a choice of a cooperative vs. competitive strategy in playing marbles, the home-reared children were more likely to use the winning strategy of taking turns.

Finally, results consistent with the foregoing trends were reported in the observational study by Prescott (1973) cited earlier. Instances of aggression, rejection, frustration, and experiencing pain were observed significantly more often among children in all-day group settings than among those in full-time family day care or half-time nursery-home combinations.

Schwarz et al. (1974) in the light of their own findings and those from most of the other studies cited above, are led to conclude that "early day-care experience may not adversely affect adjustment with peers but may slow acquisition of some adult cultural values." In our own view, the evidence points to a more delimited conclusion. On the one hand, the available follow-up data do not go beyond the first grade in school, and hence any inferences about longer range effects must be viewed as tentative On the other hand, these inferences are made more plausible by consonant results of other research on the influence of children's groups on social behavior and development. Specifically, taken as a whole, the evidence we have examined suggests that all-day group care may predispose children to greater aggressiveness, impulsivity, egocentrism and related behavior patterns which have been identified as characteristic of socialization in age-segregated peer groups in America generally (Bronfenbrenner, 1970, 197~~4~~6).

That the phenomena may indeed be culture bound is indicated by comparative studies of peer group socialization in the USA, USSR, Israel and other contemporary societies which show that, depending on the goals and methods involved, group upbringing can lead to a variety of consequences, ranging from delinquency and violence at one extreme to unquestioning conformity at the other (e.g., Sherif, 19__). The trends revealed in existing research suggest that peer groups in the United States, while far from either pole, are closer to the former than the latter end of the continuum. In light of these findings, a re-examination of current practices in group day care is clearly indicated. It is of interest in this regard, that in conversations with American specialists, professionals and parents in the USSR and Sweden, two countries in which full day group care facilities are widespread, have expressed concern about possibly deleterious effects of extended care.

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EXHIBIT C

## Children and Families at Greatest Risk[1]

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Children and families at greatest risk fall into three broad and overlapping categories:

(1) Families in which those adults primarily responsible for the care of children work full time, either by choice or from necessity;

(2) Families living under the most severe economic and social stress (for example, single parents, whether they work or not, who must bring up children under six on an annual income under $5,000);

(3) Families above the poverty level who are ineligible for benefits and services available to low income families, but who still do not have enough money to purchase these services in the free market. (For example, in 1974 among family heads earning from $5,000 to $7,000 about one-third of all the children under 18 were living in single-parent, female-headed households, almost 60% of these had working mothers; of the remaining two-thirds, all intact families, more than a quarter had mothers who were working. None of these families can qualify for child care, medical and other services available to those below the poverty line without cost or minimal fees.)

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[1] This review was prepared in connection with the author's responsibilities as a member of the Advisory Committee on Child Development of the National Academy of Sciences.

Families at greatest risk clearly lie at the extremes and intersections of the above three areas of need. We shall now examine these areas, and their overlapping segments, in greater detail.

The Need for Substitute Child Care

We take it as axiomatic that, after basic health requirements are met, every young child requires the constant care of an adult. As has been documented in previous sections of this report, for millions of America's children such care becomes problematic because one or both parents work. The usual figures cited for numbers of children of working mothers are those published annually by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Thus, for 1974, the number of children under six whose mothers were in the labor force was given as 6.1 million. But in point of fact the figure is short by almost half a million, because in these statistics only own children of family heads are counted; omitted are children of other family members, as well as any unrelated children. In 1974, there were 1.2 million such "forgotten" children under six, representing 6.3 percent of a total of 19.7 million. The full number of children of working mothers can be estimated, however, from the published data on the number of mothers in the labor force, which are presented without regard to whether the husband or wife is a family head (although the statistics omit about 400,000 unwed mothers of children under six). On this basis, a conservative estimate of children under six whose mothers were in the labor force in 1974 is about 6.5 million; this number constitutes over a third of all the children in this age group. For 1.3 million youngsters the working mother was also a single-parent, and usually (for 70%) the head of an independent family. About one-third of the employed single-parent mothers of children under six were working full time for the entire year (compared to 25 percent of working mothers in intact families). All evidence indicates that these figures can be expected to continue to increase in the future.

How are these needs for substitute child care being met at present? The most striking characteristic of current arrangements and facilities for extrafamilial child care in the United States is enormous diversity. During the last fifteen years we have witnessed a proliferation of services and facilities ranging from formally licensed day care centers, both public and private, to informal cooperative babysitting arrangements and play groups organized by individual parents.

All licensed day care centers and family day care homes had a child caring capacity in 1974 for only about one million children (see Table 1). But the majority of children receiving substitute care are not to be found in these licensed facilities. A national survey, conducted in 1965, of "Child Care Arrangements of Working Mothers in the U.S." (Low & Spindler, 1968) revealed that 46 percent of the children under 14 covered by the survey were cared for in their own homes while the mother worked. Of these, 8 percent, or more than half a million, were cared for by another child under 16. Of all children of working mothers, 13 percent or 1.6 million were cared for by the mother at the place of work. Care outside the child's own home accounted for only 10 percent of the children of working mothers. This 10 percent consisted of 7 percent in family day care and 3 percent in group care, the "rarest of all arrangements."

Finally, a category that has not received much attention cries out for alternative solutions.

> Nearly 1 million children (994,000 or 8 percent) looked after themselves while their mothers worked. Most of them attended school part of the time while their mothers were away but were expected to care for themselves the rest of the time. These children in self-care, often called "latch-key children" because they carry on their person a key to their home, were left on their own without supervision.

Keyserling (1972) provides an additional datum and comment about such children:

> The study (cited above) reported that 18,000 children under the age of six were latch-key kids on their own: this is undoubtedly an underestimate. Few mothers will answer when asked by a Census taker, that they are unable to make any arrangements whatsoever for care. (p. 13)

It should be recognized that all of the preceding numbers are now much larger than they were in 1965. For example, the total number of working mothers with children under 19 rose from 9.7 million in 1965, the year the study of child care arrangements was conducted, to 13.6 million in 1974, an increase of 140 percent over the nine year period. If we assume that the percentage of latch-key children is the same now as it was in 1965, the number of such children would have risen from 994,000 to 1.4 million in 1974.

Given the foregoing facts, the principal dilemma confronting the nation's families in the area of child care is not the choice of whether to enroll the child in group care, arrange for family day care, or keep him or her at home, but the necessity to find some form of substitute care in a reality situation in which relatively few resources are available. Under such circumstances, the issue of quality becomes academic, or at best a luxury for those who can afford to be selective. For the great majority of families, the guiding principle is clear enough: some form of child care is better than none at all.

The implication for public policy is equally clear: the major problem confronting the nation's families must become the primary concern and priority of the policymakers. A national program of substitute care for children of working mothers and of other parents living under severe economic and social stress must be provided.

Children in Low and Marginal Income Families

Estimated numbers of children in families at successive levels of income, also broken down by family structure and mother's working status, are given in Table 2. Again, because the census does not usually provide income or labor force information for parents who are not family heads, the figures represent estimates, with a probable error of not more than 20 percent for entries of at least 100,000.[2]

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[2] The estimates were made from one census tablulation by family income in which data are given for all related children rather than ones for own children of family heads. Such related children occur more frequently in the lower income brackets; for example, last year for families with incomes below $5,000, they represented 11 percent of the total, compared to 3 percent in families with incomes over $10,000.

For purposes of presentation we have designated families with earnings below $5,000 as "low income."[3] As can be seen from the data in Table 2, there are 3.2 million children in this category. About 60 percent of these children were living in single-parent families, one-third of them had mothers in the labor force, and about one-quarter fell into both categories; that is, they were children of single, working mothers.

Children in the next highest family-income bracket ($5,000 to $7,000) are not much better off. Over one out of every five lives in a single-parent family, over 30 percent of the mothers are in the labor force, and about one child in eight has a working mother who is also a single-parent head.

In general, as we have documented previously, families above the government-defined poverty line, but with incomes with $4,000 to under $10,000, remain in a vulnerable position both in terms of the integrity of the family and the integrity of the child. We may recall, for example, that in the $4,000 to $6,000 income bracket the rate of disruption for families with children rose over the last six years from 15 percent to 42 percent. Although the absolute level was lower for families in the next highest income category ($6,000 to $8,000), the rate of increase was equally high (from 7 percent in 1968 to 27 percent in 1974). With respect to the integrity of the child, infant mortality and prematurity rates are almost as high in the $2,000 income bracket just above the poverty level as below it.

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[3] It is to be kept in mind that this designation does not correspond with the government-defined poverty line, which is based on other considerations besides income: specifically,

> a range of income cut-offs adjusted by such factors as size, sex of the family head, number of children under 18 years old, and farm and non-farm residence. At the core of this definition of poverty was a nutritionally adequate food plan-designed by the Department of Agriculture for emergency or temporary use when funds are low. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 98. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 159).

In 1974, of the 19.7 million children under six, about 3.1 million were living in families classified as below the poverty line. This number is smaller than the 3.2 million children in families with incomes below $5,000, since the poverty line falls somewhat below the latter figure. For example, last year the threshhold for a non-farm, male headed family with two children under 18 was $4,505; for a female head with two children, $3,556.

But the most important reason for regarding families and children not far above the poverty line as being at risk derives from their ineligibility for needed benefits and services which they cannot afford to purchase for themselves.

Defining "Children in Families at Risk"

Viewed as a whole, the data of Table 2 represent the number of families in each of several categories of high to low risk defined by various combinations of low income, maternal employment, and family structure. The children at highest risk appear in the cells toward the upper left-hand corner of the table.

For reasons to be indicated below, I suggest designating as "at high risk" all children appearing above and to the left of the diagonal broken line shown in Table 2.[4] The 3.2 million children in the first two columns are included because they overlap substantially with those already classified below the poverty line by government regulations. To be sure, once a minimum income maintenance plan is put into effect, many of these children, especially those from families now in the $3,000 to $5,000 income brackets would be raised above the poverty line. But then, as we have noted, these families would no longer be eligible for benefits and services restricted to low-income groups, and which they cannot afford to buy on the open market.

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[4] I do not use the Government's poverty line since it considers only the total number of children without regard to age, does not take into account the mother's labor force participation, and introduces other factors that make it incompatible with the criteria employed in Table 2.

I also include in the designation of families and children at risk all single parents with children under six who work but have incomes under $10,000 and those intact families with children under six in which the mother works but total family income is below $7,000. If these 750,000 children are added to the 3.2 million youngsters under six in families with incomes under $5,000, they make a total of 4.0 million children classified as "high risk."

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[5] This number includes an additional 60,000 children of single-parent fathers in families with characteristics that would place them above the diagonal in Table 2.

### Table 1

### Number and Capacity of Licensed or Approved Day Care Centers and Family Day Care Homes

| | March 1967 | March 1972 |
|---|---|---|
| **Number of Centers and Homes** | | |
| Day care centers | 10,400 | 20,319 |
| Family day care homes | 24,300 | 60,967 |
| Total | 34,700 | 81,286 |
| **Capacity of Centers and Homes** | | |
| Day care centers: | | |
| Public | 22,600 | 79,401 |
| Voluntary | 113,900 | 326,431 |
| Independent | 239,300 | 354,200 |
| Auspices not reported | 17,500 | 45,329 |
| Subtotal | 393,300 | 805,361 |
| Family Day Care Homes: | | |
| Public | 2,500 | 34,300 |
| Voluntary | 1,300 | 16,216 |
| Independent | 63,900 | 159,663 |
| Auspices not reported | 14,200 | 4,662 |
| Subtotal | 81,900 | 215,841 |
| Total Capacity | 475,200 | 1,021,202 |

Source: U.S. Senate Committee on Finance Report "Child Care, Data and Materials," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1974.

## Table 2

### Estimated Numbers of Children under Six in 1974 by Family Income, Family Structure, and Mother's Labor Force Participation

(number of children in thousands)

| | Family Income<br>Under $3000 | $3000 to $5000 | $5000 to $7000 | $7000 to $10,000 | $10,000 and over | Totals by Work Status and Family Structure |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Mother in Labor Force** | | | | | | |
| Single Parent | 421 | 354 | 245 | 162 | 81 | 1263 |
| Father Present | 58 | 228 | 341 | 956 | 3667 | 5250 |
| **Mother Not in Labor Force** | | | | | | |
| Single Parent | 666 | 458 | 167 | 41 | 21 | 1353 |
| Father Present | 341 | 705 | 1148 | 2151 | 6930 | 11275 |
| **Total by Income Level** | 1486 | 1745 | 1901 | 3310 | 10699 | 19141 |

1919

94th Congress }
1st Session }
COMMITTEE PRINT

# OUR NATION'S SCHOOLS—A REPORT CARD: "A" IN SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND VANDALISM

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PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
Based on Investigations, 1971–1975

BY

Senator BIRCH BAYH, *Chairman*

TO THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

APRIL 1975

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# OUR NATION'S SCHOOLS—A REPORT CARD: "A" IN SCHOOL VIOLENCE AND VANDALISM

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this preliminary report by the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency is to direct the attention of the Congress and the American people to a most disturbing and costly problem—violence and vandalism in the schools of our nation. Since 1971 the Subcommittee has been involved with a variety of issues which have a very fundamental and critical bearing upon the causes, prevention and treatment of delinquent behavior exhibited by young citizens in every region of our country.

During the past four years the Subcommittee has held 55 days of hearings and received testimony from 419 witnesses on numerous topics, some of which involved the extent and causes of drug abuse, runaway youth, school dropouts, and the confinement of juveniles in detention and correctional facilities.

The legislation developed to deal with these problems and which promises to greatly assist our efforts to combat and prevent juvenile delinquency is the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (P.L. 93–415). This Act is designed to prevent young people from entering our failing juvenile justice system, and to assist communities in creating more sensible and economic approaches for youngsters already in the juvenile justice system. Thus, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 provides incentives to develop delinquency prevention programs and community based alternatives to incarceration of youthful offenders.

During the course of our hearings, the Subcommittee developed a serious concern over the rising level of student violence and vandalism in our nation's public school systems. Since many aspects of juvenile problems are intimately connected with the nature and quality of the school experience, it became apparent that, to the extent our schools were being subjected to an increasing trend of student violence and vandalism, they would necessarily be contributing to the underlying causes of juvenile delinquency. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967, found that:

> Recent research has related instances of delinquent conduct to the school-child relationship and to problems either created or complicated by schools themselves. First, in its own methods and practices, the school may simply be too passive to fulfill its obligations as one of the last social institutions with an opportunity to rescue the child from other forces, in himself and in his environment, which are pushing him toward delinquency. Second, there is considerable evidence that some schools may have an indirect effect on delinquency by the use of methods that create the conditions of failure for certain students.

In order to more fully understand the nature and extent of this problem, the Subcommittee sent a questionnaire in August 1973, to the superintendents of 757 public school districts throughout the country with an enrollment of 10,000 pupils or more ranging from grades K–12. The questionnaire was designed to obtain categorized information to determine the extent and scope of violence, vandalism, and dropouts in the systems surveyed for the school years 1970–71, 1971–72, and 1972–73. A Subcommittee follow-up letter was mailed to the non-respondent school districts in December 1973. To date, 516 school districts or 68.1 percent of the school districts surveyed have responded to the questionnaire. Several districts found it necessary to refer the study instruments to the municipal police department because the school did not maintain records of certain school-related offenses. Of the 516 respondents, 220 school districts returned incomplete questionnaires. Useful information was, however, gleaned from these incomplete responses. The incomplete questionnaires were primarily from school districts which were unable to provide the Subcommittee with the information requested due to the lack of adequate recordkeeping procedures for the entire three-years or from districts which had not implemented recordkeeping systems pertaining to school crimes until 1972 or 1973.

Also in August 1973, the Subcommittee corresponded with 50 school security directors requesting their assistance in furnishing the Subcommittee with any available information they desired to contribute to the discussion of crimes committed by youngsters in the public school systems. (The directors were informed that a Subcommittee questionnaire had been circulated to over 700 school superintendents.) The Subcommittee was particularly interested in receiving the school security directors recommendations for developing federal legislation to provide the research, coordination, and resources necessary for the prevention and deterrence of crimes and violence in our nation's schools. Twenty school security directors responded to the Subcommittee's request for assistance.

This preliminary Subcommittee report discusses the information obtained from these sources, together with various additional studies of school violence and vandalism gathered by the Subcommittee. The report is divided into several sections, the first of which is a general overview of some of the trends and causes of school violence and vandalism throughout the country. The second section is a regional breakdown of the Subcommittee's findings on how school violence and vandalism is affecting the Northeast, Northcentral, South and West areas of the country. The third and fourth sections deal with federal and state legislation in this area under study. Our final section details the subcommittee's future goals.

## NATIONAL TRENDS

There has always been a certain level of violence and vandalism in our nation's public school system. Professor Alan F. Westin of Columbia University in a study of urban school violence in the years between 1870 and 1950 has found a rather steady stream of disruptions occurring throughout that entire period. If, however, the system has never been totally immune from incidents of student misbehavior such problems have historically been viewed as a relatively minor concern seldom involving more than a few sporadic and isolated incidents. As recently as 1964 a survey of the nation's teachers found that only 3 percent of their students could be considered discipline problems. Overall, teachers were able to rate 70–80 percent of their classes as exhibiting good to excellent behavior.

Today, however, the situation has changed and the level of violence and vandalism in our schools is rapidly increasing in both intensity and frequency. Dr. Frank Brown, Chairman of the National Commission for Reform of Secondary Education, contends, "The major concern confronting secondary schools today is the climate of fear where the majority of students are afraid for their safety." A Grand Jury in San Francisco issued a report last January which declared. "The most serious problem facing the city is the deterioration of its public school system." In a survey of teacher needs conducted in 1972 fully 54 percent of the teachers found student disruption of their classrooms to be a problem of moderate to critical proportions. Syracuse University Research Corporation conducted a survey of urban secondary schools which found that 85 percent of these institutions had experienced some type of student disruption in the period between 1967 and 1970. The Syracuse report concluded, "The disruption of education in our high schools is no longer novel or rare. It is current, it is widespread and it is serious."

It is alarmingly apparent that student misbehavior and conflict within our school system is no longer limited to a fist fight between individual students or an occasional general disruption resulting from a specific incident. Instead our schools are experiencing serious crimes of a felonious nature including brutal assaults on teachers and students, as well as rapes, extortions, burglaries, thefts and an unprecedented wave of wanton destruction and vandalism. Moreover our preliminary study of the situation has produced compelling evidence that this level of violence and vandalism is reaching crisis proportions which seriously threaten the ability of our educational system to carry out its primary function.

Quite naturally the rising tide of violence in our schools has engendered an increasing awareness and concern among the American people. In a 1974 Gallup poll most adults and high school students surveyed cited the lack of discipline as the chief problem confronting schools today. In fact three of the top four problems cited by most of those polled were directly related to various problems of student behavior.

Our recently completed nationwide survey of over 750 school districts demonstrates that this concern is well founded. The statistics gathered by the Subcommittee indicate that violence in our schools affects every section of the nation and, in fact, continues to escalate to even more serious levels. The preliminary Subcommittee survey found that in the three years between 1970 and 1973:

(A) Homicides increased by 18.5 percent;
(B) Rapes and attempted rapes increased by 40.1 percent;
(C) Robberies increased by 36.7 percent;
(D) Assaults on students increased by 85.3 percent;
(E) Assaults on teachers increased by 77.4 percent;
(F) Burglaries of school buildings increased by 11.8 percent;
(G) Drug and alcohol offenses on school property increased by 37.5 percent; and
(H) Dropouts increased by 11.7 percent.

An even more ominous statistic for the future course of school safety is the fact that by the end of the 1973 school year the number of weapons confiscated by school authorities had risen by 54.4 percent in three years. These weapons include knives, clubs, pistols and even sawed-off shotguns designed to be easily concealed within a student's locker.

The conclusions to be drawn from the Subcommittee survey are supported by other studies of these problems. Simply put, the trend in school violence over the last decade in America has been, and continues to be, alarmingly and dramatically upward.

In a 1964 survey by the National Educational Association (NEA), 14.7 percent of the teachers surveyed reported that a teacher had been physically assaulted in their schools. By 1973 a similar survey showed that 37 percent of the nation's public school teachers reported an incident of teacher-oriented assault in their schools, and almost 50 percent of the teachers in the larger school systems (over 25,000 students) were aware of specific assaults on other teachers in their schools. Data from an earlier survey of large urban school districts conducted by the Subcommittee showed that assaults on teachers in those systems increased 612 percent between 1964 and 1968. In Chicago alone the number of such assaults went from 135 to 1,065 in that same period.

The returns from the Subcommittee's current nationwide survey shows that this problem continues to exist and in fact to worsen. Between 1970 and 1973 assaults on teachers in school systems throughout the country increased again over previous levels by 77.4 percent. The NEA estimates that in the 1972–73 school year alone 69,000 teachers were physically attacked by students and 155,000 teachers had their personal property maliciously damaged. Another study found that 75,000 teachers are injured badly enough each year to require medical attention.

In response to this increase in assaults on teachers, the United Federation of Teachers recently issued to its members a booklet on how to handle violence in a variety of school situations including hallways, lunchrooms and classrooms. The booklet also contains advice to teachers on how best to combat sexual assaults:

> This is especially true for female teachers. Most rapes and other sex crimes occur in classrooms, faculty rooms and workrooms—when the teacher is alone. *The surest means of preventing sexual attacks is never to be alone.*
>
> The teacher who is confronted by a sexual assailant should take account of Police Department recommendations. If a rapist is armed, the police urge that his victim offer no resistance, lest she be maimed or fatally injured. If he is *not* armed, a woman should remember that her knee or almost any instrument can become a weapon: a Bic pen will open a beer can—or a kidney or an eye.

There are indications that student violence and vandalism occurs more often in larger urban secondary schools. A survey of newspaper articles between October 1969 and February 1970 revealed that 63 percent of the major school disruptions occurred in urban areas. A Vandalism and Violence study published by the School Public Relations Association estimated that 55 percent of the major incidents of disruption occurred in cities larger than one million people and 26 percent occurred in cities of less than 100,000 population. It should be emphasized, however, that this is not a problem found exclusively in large cities or solely involving older students. A guidance counselor for a school system on the West coast commented:

> We get thousands of reports on assaults. It's astonishing to see what happens in the elementary grades, teachers being hit and called filthy names, assaulted by little kids who really can't hurt them much. But the thing is, what are you going to do about these kids so they change their way of thinking about things, their attitude and behavior?

Although the level of violence, directed against teachers revealed by these statistics, is indeed alarming, the principal victims of the rising tide of crime in our schools are not the teachers, but the students. The Subcommittee's suurvey found that violent assaults on students increased by 85.3 percent over a three year period, while reported robberies of students increased by 36.7 percent.

The Subcommittee survey found that incidents involving the use of drugs and alcohol on public school property went up 37.5 percent. A study released this year by the NEA estimates that drug-related crimes in schools had increased by 81 percent since 1970, and that 30 percent of the 18 million students in secondary schools use illegal drugs.

The National Highway Safety Administration estimates that 50 percent of the nation's high school students go to drinking parties every month and that 61 percent of that group gets drunk once a month. The Highway Safety Administration also found that these students represent a remarkable cross-section of our schools:

> They are not far out, drop out alienated or under achieving types. On the contrary, they represent all levels of scholastic achievement and aspiration. They report the same range of sport and extracurricular activities as the students who are not involved with drinking.

It is important to stress that the Subcommittee survey findings, as well as those of other surveys on violence within the school system, are only estimates of the nature and extent of the problem. A report on the New York City school system found that the rate of unreported incidents ranged between 30 percent and 60 percent. Albert Shanker, President of the American Federation of Teachers, explained teachers' reluctance to fully report such incidents as follows:

> Teachers find that if they report to the principal an assault, the principal who feels that his own reputation or her reputation or the school's reputation is at stake here, will very frequently turn around and start harassing the teacher by saying, "Well, if you had three assaults, how come you are the one always complaining. You must have more observation or better planning, or this or that." So the teacher soon finds out that bringing these reports to the attention of the principal is something that is not wanted and tends to suppress that information.

In conducting our survey, the Subcommittee found that many of the schools contacted did not keep records of violent incidents involving their students or personnel, which obviously makes the task of gauging the levels and directions of violence a difficult one. A uniform, national reporting system for our schools would be particularly helpful in this regard.

In addition to the violence directed against both teachers and students within the school system, there is also a continuing and rapidly increasing level of destruction and theft of school property. A survey conducted by the Baltimore, Maryland, public schools of 39 cities across the country found that in 1968–69 these cities had reported vandalism losses of over $12,000,000. In a 1971 report prepared by Education U.S.A. and the National School Public Relations Association, it was estimated that vandalism was costing $200 million annually. Barely two years later Dr. Norman Scharer, President of the Association of School Security Directors, stated:

> A conservative estimate of the cost of vandalism, thefts and arson to schools in this country this year will reportedly be over a half a billion dollars. I say conservative because out of the almost 15,000 school systems the top five account for $15–20 million dollars of this cost.

This $500 million vandalism cost represents over $10 per year for every school student, and in fact equals the total amount expended on textbooks throughout the country in 1972.

A 1970 survey conducted by the School Product News found that damages from vandalism cost an average of $55,000 for every school district in the country. By the end of the 1973 school year the average cost per district had risen to $63,031. Although these figures indicate that the incidents of vandalism are certainly widespread, it is in the larger urban districts with upwards of 25,000 students where the most costly destruction occurs. Almost 60 percent of all vandalism takes place in these larger districts with an average cost per district in 1973 at $135,297.

The source of this destruction ranges from broken windows, found in over 90 percent of our districts, to fires reported by 35 percent of the districts. Significfant incidents of theft and malicious destruction of educational equipment occurs in 80 percent of the school districts in the country.

Staggering as these figures are they undoubtedly represent a very conservative estimate of economic loss attributable to school vandalism. A study of school vandalism by Bernard Greenberg of the Stanford Research Institute found:

> It should be noted that the cost figure is grossly understated because it does not include in all instances losses attributable to burglary, theft and property

damage repaired by resident maintenance staffs. Nor does it take into account costs to equip and maintain special security forces, which are considerable for the larger school districts, and law enforcement costs to patrol and respond to calls reporting school incidents. Many school districts carry theft insurance, but the costs are exceedingly high. Where data on selected school districts theft losses are available, the dollar amounts are significantly high.

Spiraling insurance rates are a significant, but often overlooked, factor in the overall cost of vandalism. The Greenberg study found a West Coast state which underwent a 40 percent rise in fire insurance costs within one year. Another survey stated:

> Many school administrators point out that only a few years ago schools were wooed by the insurance industry as good risks. Now this has changed. And school districts all over the country are reporting difficulty in obtaining insurance. Half the districts answering the Education U.S.A. survey said rates have increased. Many are either paying higher premiums, higher deductibles, or in all too many instances, having policies cancelled or flatly rejected.

In addition to insurance rates, school districts are facing increasing costs for security guards, fencing, intrusion and fire detectors, special lighting, emergency communications equipment and vandalism resistant windows. In 1965, for instance, the Los Angeles school system had a total of 15 security guards, but in six years that force was compelled to increase to over 100 members at a cost of over $1 million per year. During the 1972–73 school year Los Angeles spent over $2 million for security agents. A report of the Panel on School Safety for New York City found that in 1971 the taxpayers had paid $1,300,000 for security guards, over $3,500,000 for police stationed in schools, and in spite of such effort incurred at least $3,700,000 worth of vandalism damage. It was estimated that New York City schools had over 248,000 window panes broken at a replacement cost of $1.25 million. Over 65 percent of the urban districts polled in the 1973 School Product News survey reported they were using special vandalism resistant windows, and 62 percent had at least one security guard assigned to their schools.

The overall impact of violence and vandalism on our educational system cannot, of course, be adequately conveyed by a recitation of the numbers of assaults and the dollars expended. Every dollar spent on replacing a broken window or installing an alarm system cannot be spent on the education of students. J. Arlen Marsh, editor of a study on school security costs estimates that:

> The cost of replacing broken windows in the average big city would build a new school every year.

The School Public Relations Association study found that a $60,000 loss, approximately the average loss for a school district, could pay for eight reading specialists or finance a school breakfast program for 133 children for a year. It is quite clear that in some areas of the country the high costs of vandalism is resulting in the reduction or elimination of needed educational programs.

The natural reaction to these enormous amounts of wasted money is to wonder over the apparently senseless nature of this destruction. A study entitled Urban School Crisis, however, questions whether vandalism is as irrational as it may appear:

> Perhaps the most serious aspect of vandalism is the set of messages it conveys: that students look upon the school as alien territory, hostile to their ambitions

> and hopes; that the education which the system is attempting to provide lacks meaningfulness; that students feel no pride in the edifices in which they spend most of their days.

In addition to requiring the diversion of funds from academic and scholastic projects to security and repair programs, the atmosphere of violence and vandalism has a devastating impact on the ability of our educational system to continue with the instruction of its students. The extent to which this atmosphere permeates our children's educational experience can perhaps be best illustrated by a letter sent to the Subcommittee from a West Coast police official:

> It isn't only in the school or the schoolyard that the students are likely to be exposed to violence. School buses, in addition to being mechanically unsound and totally devoid of the slightest semblance of safety devices, are frequently a terrifying experience for the children who are captive passengers. They are the scene of rip-offs for lunch money, physical violence, and pressure to indulge in the illegal use of drugs or narcotics. We appear to have accepted without effective challenge this mass intimidation simply because, naively, some of us hope it will "go away." Students who are normally nonviolent have started carrying guns and knives and lengths of bicycle chains for protection on campus. Though I am obviously concerned about the millions of dollars of property loss which occurs in our schools, I am far more concerned about our apparent willingness to accept violence as a condition of our daily existence.

Few students can be expected to learn in an atmosphere of fear, assaults and disorder. There can be little doubt that the significant level of violent activity, threats and coercion revealed by the Subcommittee's preliminary survey would have a detrimental effect on the psychological and educational development of children and young adults. Moreover a continuous pattern of destruction of school equipment and buildings naturally makes nearly impossible the already challenging process of education. The extent and continued growth of this chaotic and threatening climate in our schools is a serious threat to our educational system.

### CAUSES

Not surprisingly, the underlying causes for this wave of violence and vandalism in our schools is a subject of intense debate and disagreement. In a certain sense the school system may be viewed as merely a convenient battleground for the pervasive societal problem of juvenile crime. As this Subcommittee pointed out in its recent Annual Report, violent juvenile crime has increased by 246.5 percent in the last thirteen years. Over the same period crimes directed against property by youths increased by 104.6 percent. Today persons under 25 years old are committing 50 percent of all violent crimes and 80 percent of all property crimes. Since our school systems are charged with the care and custody of a large percentage of our young people it is reasonable to assume that the incidents of violence and vandalism within our educational institutions would follow patterns similar to those developing in the society at large. A study conducted in 1973 by Paul Ritterbrand and Richard Silberstein concluded that the roots of school problems could be traced to problems existing in the general American society rather than to conditions or failures within the school system itself.

Other studies, however, while acknowledging the substantial effect general societal conditions would have on the conduct of school behavior, have indicated the existence of several "in school" conditions which may contribute to the level of youthful disorder. One possible contributing factor is the various methods of excluding students from school. A 1974 report entitled, "Children Out of School in America," prepared by the Children's Defense Fund, estimates that hundreds of thousands of students are removed from schools each year by short-term, long-term or indefinite expulsions and suspensions. While most educators concur in the necessity for the exclusion of seriously disruptive troublemakers from the school environment, the Children's Defense Fund study found the numbers of students being suspended were far in excess of those who must be removed as a means of maintaining order. The study recounted the history of one youngster's long-term suspension:

> Dale McCutcheon, 13, is in the eighth grade of his local public school. He is an eneuretic, a bedwetter.
>
> Dale's school had a policy requiring every eighth grade boy to spend a long weekend in the country to learn to live outdoors. Most boys adore this trip. Dale dreaded it as early as fifth grade after he heard it was compulsory. When the time came, he begged his mother to keep him home, but she refused.
>
> The first night of the excursion, Dale woke several times and cautiously felt around his waist, but everything was dry. The next day his spirits were high and he enjoyed learning how to make food from wild plants and to classify mushrooms. The secret problem he had carried for so long seemingly had vanished.
>
> It was different the second night. He did not awake until morning when the sounds of boys talking and laughing startled him. The two boys sharing his tent had discovered the wetness. They hounded Dale mercilessly and he wept. The boys told the counselors, who lectured him. Later, someone cracked a joke about Dale's accident and all the boys exploded with laughter. Humiliated, he wanted to run away and dreaded the thought of returning to school. The third night he remained dry but the damage had been done.
>
> Dale never told his parents about the incident. He refused to go to school for two days and pretended he was sick. But by the end of the week, his sister had become the butt of other children's insults about Dale, and she reported the incident to her parents who were painfully embarrassed and angry with Dale.
>
> Two weeks after the excursion, the principal of Dale's school asked his parents to come in for a meeting. The principal wasted no time outlining the seriousness of Dale's situation for the boy as well as for the school. The problem was not, he explained, the other children. "They'll probably forget the whole thing in another week or so. It's Dale's teachers—how do we know he won't just, you know, pop off at any time in one of his classes?" Mrs. McCutcheon explained that it was only a nighttime problem but the principal replied, "We can't take any chances. I can't stop him from going to school. But I can stop him from going to this school and that's exactly what I'm doing. The boy's out for a month, or until a time you can prove to us that he is able to control himself, night and day."
>
> And so Dale was out of school.

There are in fact so many students being subjected to expulsive disciplinary practices that the phenomena has been referred to as the "Pushout" problem.

Another facet of the pushout problem which may operate as a contributing factor to school disorders was revealed in a report recently released by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In statistics gathered at the end of the 1973 school year it was demonstrated that while Blacks represent only 27 percent of the total student enrollment in the 3,000 school districts surveyed, they accounted for 37 percent of the expulsions and 42 percent of the suspensions from those districts. The disparity among these figures raises serious questions concerning possible widescale bias in the administration of suspension and expulsion. Such policies can only result in anger and hostility on the part of students.

In addition to these forms of compulsive absence from schools there are the related problems of "force outs" and truancy which contribute to the large numbers of children and young adults who attend school in only a very irregular fashion. The "force out" concept is the educational system's version of a plea bargain, so common in our criminal justice system. A student involved in academic or behavioral difficulty may be informally presented with the options of failing courses, facing expulsion or voluntary removal from school. In many instances the student will opt for "dropping out" and therefore be removed temporarily or permanently. Truancy, of course, is an accepted and traditional fact of life in schools, but the modern rates of truancy especially in the large urban systems, reveal numerous students attend school only in the most erratic fashion.

At first glance it might appear that the expulsion, suspension, pushout, force out and truancy phenomenon, although certainly tragic for those involved, might at least create a somewhat more orderly atmosphere for those remaining in school as a result of the absence of youngsters evidently experiencing problems adjusting to the school environment. The opposite, however, appears to be the case. The Syracuse study, for instance, found that in schools where the average daily attendance was lower, the disruptions, violence and vandalism rates were higher. This may be explained by the fact that the vast majority of students who are voluntarily or compulsively excluded from schools do, in time, return to those schools. In many instances their frustrations and inadequacies which caused their absence in the first place have only been heightened by their exclusion and the school community will likely find itself a convenient and meaningful object of revenge.

As the Subcommittee's statistics reveal, the use of drugs and alcohol by students in secondary schools continues to increase. These trends cannot be ignored as a contributing factor to the problems confronting the schools. A report on violence in the Boston Public Schools, for example, states:

> Regarding behavior, most administrators and teachers felt a person occasionally "high on drugs" could be very difficult to handle. There was no question that drugs were a very important cause for the increase in stealing and fighting in the schools.

Another cause of disruption and violence found mainly in large urban centers on the East and West Coasts is the presence of youthful, but highly organized, gangs within the school system. A school which finds itself being used as the center of a gang's illegal activities can quickly develop a very hostile environment. A security director for a metropolitan school system in a letter to the Subcommittee states:

> Although the number of gang members, in proportion to the overall student population in most schools is minimal, the trouble they cause is at times, cataclysmic. Students are robbed, intimidated, raped, bludgeoned and sometimes fatally wounded. Teachers and other adults in the schools are threatened and on occasions, physically assaulted. The peace of any school is breached and the learning climate seriously polluted by gang activity, however slight.
>
> In some schools, gang activity is so intense that it is necessary for school security officers and the local police to escort one gang through the territory of a rival gang at dismissal time. At certain schools, Safety Corridos have been established which provide safe passage for neutral students under the protection

> of school security personnel and police, through the hostile territory. Needless to say, these measures provide at best, temporary relief. They do not begin to attack the root causes of the problem.

Schools, of course, cannot escape the impact of racial and ethnic dislike and distrust of contemporary American society. Moreover, the intense concentration of individuals within the school confines coupled with the naturally vigorous personalities of students exacerbate these antagonisms. Following a fight at one of its schools, involving more than seventy students in October 1974, a suburban school district in Virginia conducted a thorough investigation into the incident. Their report, released earlier this year, concluded that racial tensions and antagonisms were a significant cause of the disruptions at the school. The report found that students were being bullied and intimidated in the halls of the school and a widely held belief existed among students of both races that disciplinary measures were not being fairly administered. It must be emphasized that this situation is in no way unique to this particular district, but, in fact, represents a widespread problem confronting schools across the country.

One common thread of particular interest to the Subcommittee running through many of the underlying causes of school violence and vandalism is what may be called the crisis of Due Process. Quite naturally schools, like other institutions, are compelled to issue rules and regulations concerning the conduct of persons within their jurisdiction. It is clear that without fair and meaningful control and discipline the schools would quickly lose their ability to educate students. Increasingly, though, educators and administrators are finding that the extent of student conduct which is sought to be regulated, as well as the methods of regulation, are causing more problems than they are controlling. A 1975 NEA study interviewed a large number of students from different schools and found that, "Many students spoke of the need for consistent, fair discipline."

For example, the Subcommittee found that in numerous institutions across the country, students, administrators and teachers are embroiled in constant ongoing disputes over restrictions on dress, hair style, smoking, hall passes, student newspapers and a myriad of other aspects of school life. The Syracuse study observes that intense efforts to control clothes or hair styles may, in fact, be counterproductive to a well ordered environment:

> This remains a constant bone of contention between students and staff, and when it takes on racial or ethnic features, the contention becomes far more serious. We suspect that everyone would agree that nakedness at school is prohibited because, by itself, it disrupts education. On the other hand, restrictions against bell bottom pants, long hair, 'Afros', and beads are probably useless and offensive.

In another area, administrative attempts to control student publications have at times appeared to be overly restrictive and conducted in a capricious manner. A 1974 report by the Commission of Inquiry Into High School Journalism found that:

> Censorship and the systematic lack of freedom to engage in open, responsible journalism characterize high school journalism. Unconstitutional and arbitrary restraints are so deeply embedded in high school journalism as to overshadow its achievements, as well as its other problems.

As discussed earlier, the manner in which suspensions and expulsions are administered have in some instances been arbitrary and discriminatory. Students in some schools are suspended without being given an opportunity to answer or explain charges against them, while other students are suspended for improper conduct which results only in a reprimand for other students engaging in identical activity. A study of the student pushout phenomenia undertaken by the Southern Regional Council and the Robert F. Kennedy memorial found that:

> Most observers acknowledge the need for rules and the power to enforce them. The pragmatic observer will concede that there are those individual students, just as some older citizens, who finally will not or cannot conform to any societal standards. The misuse of discipline, however, often occurs because racial, cultural and generation differences cloud the judgment and actions of teachers and administrators alike.

On a more positive level certain efforts have been made to rationalize and reform the rule making and disciplinary functions in our schools. The Supreme Court held recently in *Gross* v. *Lopez* 95 S. Ct. 729 (1975) that student expulsion or suspension procedures must be governed by at least the minimal standards of Due Process. The Court stated:

> In holding as we do, we do not believe that we have imposed procedures on school disciplinarians which are inappropriate in a classroom setting. Instead we have imposed requirements which are, if anything, less than a fair minded school principal would impose upon himself in order to avoid unfair suspensions.

The NEA has developed a Student Rights and Responsibility statement which recommends that the standards of conduct to be followed at a particular school be drawn up with participation by student representatives, and that they be distributed to all members of the school community in written form. This practice would insure that students as well as teachers have a clear and understandable statement of the rules and regulations governing their conduct while in school. Many schools have in fact amended or instituted written student codes which contain a statement of student rights and responsibilities and which set forth the grounds for suspension and expulsion along with whatever procedural protections are to be used prior to such action. The mere practice of committing school regulations to writing helps insure an even-handed administration of student discipline within the institution.

In addition to students, many teachers are anxious for clear and closely followed disciplinary codes within schools. Following the shooting death of a teacher in Philadelphia by a junior high school student who had continuously caused trouble at the school, both principles and teachers within that system demanded a new and stricter code for dealing with repeatedly disruptive students. Many teachers feel that only when seriously disruptive students are properly controlled can the remainder of the school community continue the task of education.

The proper response to the problem of the seriously disruptive student is a difficult and complex issue. On the one hand, a small group of disruptive and violent students can create conditions which make the task of education impossible and dangerous for both teachers and other students. On the other hand, however, several studies indicate that mass expulsions of these students from schools often creates groups of resentful youngsters who return to the school community to seek vengence.

Unfortunately, not all the sources of school violence and vandalism discussed in this report are as amenable to solution as the promulgation and fair administration of rules and regulations affecting both teachers and students. Some of these causes are obviously beyond the direct control of administrators or teachers, while others no doubt remain largely unidentified. Many school districts are attempting to identify and confront those problems, but their nature and cure are not readily treatable solely by teachers or administrators. What is shockingly apparent from the Subcommittee survey, however, is that our school system is facing a crisis of serious dimensions, the solutions to which must be found if the system is to survive in a meaningful form. It is essential that the American public school becomes a safe and secure environment where education, rather than disruption, violence, and vandalism, is the primary concern.

## REGIONAL BREAKDOWN

### A. NORTHEAST

Connecticut.
Maine.
Massachusetts.
New Hamsphire.
New Jersey.
New York.
Pennsylvania.
Rhode Island.
Vermont.

### B. NORTHCENTRAL

Illinois.
Indiana.
Iowa.
Kansas.
Michigan.
Minnesota.
Missouri.
Nebraska.
North Dakota.
Ohio.
South Dakota.
Wisconsin.

### C. SOUTH

Alabama.
Arkansas.
Delaware.
Florida.
Georgia.
Kentucky.
Louisiana.
Maryland.
Mississippi.
North Carolina.
Oklahoma.
South Carolina.
Tennessee.
Texas.
Virginia.
West Virginia.
District of Columbia.
Puerto Rico.
Virgin Islands.

### D. WEST

Alaska.
Arizona.
California.
Colorado.
Hawaii.
Idaho.
Montana.
Nevada.
New Mexico.
Oregon.
Utah.
Washington.
Wyoming.
Guam.
Canal Zone.
Trust territories of the Pacific Islands and American Samoa.

## A. NORTHEAST

For purposes of our survey the Northeastern region includes the states of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

One hundred thirty eight questionnaires were sent to school systems in the northeastern region and 59.4 percent were returned completed.

The pattern of increasing violence and vandalism in the northeastern school districts surveyed by the Subcommittee was mixed. We found between the 1970–71 and 1972–73 school years that:

(A) Homicide increased by 20.1 percent;
(B) Rapes and attempted rapes increased by 37.9 percent;
(C) Robbery increased by 39.3 percent;
(D) Student assaults on students decreased by 2.2 percent;
(E) Burglary and larceny decreased by 2.9 percent;
(F) Weapons increased by 20.6 percent;
(G) Drugs and alcohol increased by 14.8 percent;
(H) Dropouts increased by 8.0 percent;
(I) Vandalism decreased by 12.0 percent; and
(J) Expulsions decreased by 9.7 percent.

During 1973, there were almost 10,000 reported crimes committed in schools or on school property in New York City alone, including three murders and 26 forcible and attempted rapes. In one year New York City schools spent $4 million to restore vandalism-caused damage.

Violence in the schools of the northeastern region is very strongly related to student gang involvement, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, and school integration. Large scale gang warfare within this region is concentrated in two large cities—New York and Philadelphia. Many schools in these cities are severely disrupted by gang-involved students. In April 1972, a 17-year-old student at George Washington High School in upper Manhattan was clubbed on the head with a pistol butt and stabbed in the spine outside the school by youths described as members of the Saints, a local gang. The stabbing followed a fight several days before between the Saints and the Galaxies, a rival gang.

Some 350 students were kept home from Adlai Stevenson High School in New York City from September 1971 to March 1972 out of fear for their safety. Parents stated that this action was warranted because of children being mugged, robbed, intimidated, harassed, and stabbed by other students who were members of Bronx gangs. Such spillover of gang activity into the schools occurs with alarming frequency. One New York City educator observed:

> The values the schools try to instill are countered by the gang spirit—a dark, frightening, anti-intellectual credo that glorifies the violent life of the street.

Gang activity in Philadelphia has had severe impact on the city's schools. In 1974, there were 165 reported assaults on teachers by students. Pupils fear of attack by other students has contributed to a dropout rate which exceeds 30 percent. The Philadelphia system has initiated programs to bus children across "rival turf" and to provide "safe corridors" for students through hostile neighborhoods by using community volunteers to police safe routes to and from school.

In a recent report, Dr. Robert L. Poindexter, Executive Deputy Superintendent of Philadelphia Public Schools, described the staggering impact of gang terrorism and violence on the education process and the continuing frustration of his school system in obtaining sufficient resources to combat gang related problems:

> Gang violence has a tremendous impact on public education. Even though gangs usually consider school buildings neutral territory just the fear of what might happen is enough to literally frighten a student out of an education.
>
> When gangs in the area of a school are fighting each other after school and in the evenings, attendance at the school drops sharply during the day.
>
> In many instances the simple fact that a student has to cross the turf of a rival gang in order to get to school is enough to keep him home.
>
> In other cases, the fear by nongang members of being assailed in or around school by gang members not only increases absenteeism, but also causes students to think more about personal safety than about getting an education.
>
> In short, gentlemen, fear generated by juvenile crime and youth gangs is a powerful force working against the learning process.
>
> To be quite frank, the gang problem in Philadelphia has reached alarming proportions. Immediate steps must be taken to deal with the situation, and the primary responsibilities rest with the police and the courts with the full cooperation of the schools, the communities, the city's business and industry, and the State and Federal Governments.
>
> We in the schools feel strongly that an important part of the long-range answer lies in a vastly expanded educational program in the city's schools. We are extremely concerned that with the city's limited finances and with the reluctance so far of the State or the Federal Government to come to the rescue, such improvement in the educational process may still be a long way off.
>
> Thus we must deal with the present situation. We must face the facts that gangs have become ingrained into the social structure of the urban community.
>
> What we must do, then, is to find ways to divert their energies and talents into constructive, rather than destructive activities.
>
> Two of the best ways of accomplishing this are better employment opportunities for the post high school youth and greatly accelerated programs to keep potential dropouts in school.
>
> The availability of more jobs would go a long way toward substituting constructive activities for destructive idleness. This is where business and industry must help out.
>
> We must also secure the finances to combine part-time jobs, school work and better vocational training in our constant fight to prevent dropouts.
>
> But we are faced with the stark facts that the Federal Government has cut back drastically on education funds and that it has not funded adequately any of our dropout prevention programs; that we have not enough school construction money even to get rid of 35 firetraps, housing more than 25,000 students much less to build adequate vocational educational facilities; and that our operating revenues are, at present, millions of dollars short of providing even a basic educational program for our 290,000 pupils.
>
> Financial restrictions like these prevent us from mounting any kind of a concerted, long-range effort to offer constructive alternatives to gangs.
>
> For instance we must get more money to strengthen our counseling program. As it stands now we have one counselor for every 700 pupils in the elementary schools; one for each 400 in junior and senior high schools.
>
> There is no way that a counselor facing these odds can hope to give the attention on an individual basis that each student needs.
>
> Yet, just to double our force of 500 counselors would cost more than $5 million in salaries alone. But we don't have the money. And on top of the shortage problem, counselors simply must be retrained to better meet the challenges presented by such current problems as student hostilities and violence. This will cost even more money.
>
> We would also like to spend far more time, effort, and money dealing with urban problems in early childhood education. We believe that it is here in the

elementary schools that we should begin dealing with these matters before a student gets a chance to turn to gang activity. Yet, our finances prevent us from implementing any such new programs.

Eighteen months ago we proposed a $1 million dropout prevention program, incorporating jobs and motivational activities to be funded under title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The funding has never materialized.

Last year, we testified in Washington before the House Appropriations Subcommittee asking for restoration of money to the Vocational Education Act of 1968. It was originally proposed to fund the act to the total of $822 million this year but that was cut drastically by the administration. This type of educational budget slashing simply means delay in upgrading our vocational education program to provide our boys with greater salable skills and to keep them away from the despairing world of gangs and gang violence.

The trend becomes clear. Everyone agrees that to get at the root causes of dropouts and unemployment we must upgrade the educational process but the State and Federal Government are not doing their share to support this upgrading.

The Subcommittee has found instances in which schools have been used for organized youthful criminal activity. The 1974 report, "Crime in the Schools", issued by the Select Committee on Crime of the New York State Legislature revealed that in some New York City high schools there were student-run brokerages where teenagers buy and sell guns, narcotics, or the services of youthful male and female prostitutes. In many instances the students buy the guns and drugs for resale at higher prices on the streets. The report maintained that teachers generally know about these illegal activities, but they are usually afraid to talk about them for fear of retaliation.

Drug and alcohol abuse in the Northeastern region increased 18.8 percent between the 1970–71 and 1972–73 school years. This increase is lower than the national increase of 37.5 percent and lower than the increase in the other three regions surveyed. However, the Subcommittee views the increase in the Northeastern region as indicative of an ever worsening problem since youthful drug abuse has historically been highest in the Northeastern United States. The Southern region, for example, experienced a 151.6 percent increase in drug and alcohol abuse over the same period, reflecting a dramatic increase in a category of offense not historically prevelant.

A July 1971 report titled, "The New York City School System and Drug Addiction—The Price New York City Pays for Drug Abuse and Addiction Among Young People", is a poignant reminder of a crisis which potentially threatens every major school system in the nation. The report findings stated:

1. Drug addiction and abuse crosses all socioeconomic levels and reaches every high school in the City of New York.
2. Some high schools are marketplaces for the sale of drugs.
3. Some school principles admit to a serious drug problem in their schools. Others deny its existence.
4. Hospitalization, due to overdose of drugs is a common occurrence in many high schools.
5. Some high school pushers admit selling up to $600 a day in drugs at schools.
6. A very small percentage of the teachers in the school system have received some training to sensitize them to drug abuse and to drug abusers.
7. Many teacher colleges are not complying with the Education Law in training teachers about drug abuse.
8. Even when a student is known to be a heroin addict, school authorities do not exercise their authority under the law and discharge the student from school.

**9. Since 1964, the Board of Education has reported to the Narcotics Register that only thirty-one students were heroin addicts.**

**10. Even if a child admits to dealing in drugs in a school building, most school administrators do not discharge the student as he is not "disorderly or disruptive."**

**11. Even if a student is arrested for a serious drug crime, very often the Family Court (if under 16) or the Criminal Court (if over 16) releases the child only to return the next school day to his respective school as a hero.**

**12. Many Department of Health physicians assigned to the schools do not examine students for drug abuse and certify students as addicts.**

**13. Although a 1952-state law mandates narcotics education in the schools, very few schools have complied.**

**14. There is no policy from the Board of Education, regarding the proper procedures to be used when a teacher has reasonable cause to believe a student deals in drugs or abuses drugs.**

**15. There is an unofficial "exchange student policy," where drug-addicts and disruptive students are transferred from one school to another. This policy is instrumental in creating mass truancy and encourages the dropout rate. There is no effective alternative education for the drug abuser or chronic truant.**

**16. The Board of Education has increased the number of security guards in the schools. However, there have been a number of cases of guards who were dealing in drugs at the schools.**

**17. Some school officials do not deem it to be their obligation, as educators, to stop drug traffic on school premises. In these schools, drug dealing is open and common.**

**18. Across the United States drug abuse is spreading to almost all urban areas. A survey by this office indicates that although the magnitude of the drug problem in areas outside New York is much less severe than in New York, there appears to be in many cities in the United States a greater dedication to tackling the problem and more resourcefulness used to stopping the spread of drug abuse among youngsters.**

A recent survey of 10,000 New York City junior and senior high school students revealed that 12 percent of the students reported a pattern of drinking frequency, amounts, and effects which can be classified as alcoholic or problem drinking. Eighty percent of the students surveyed drank to some extent, most of them occasionally, and in limited amounts. It appears that too many parents are now saying, "Thank God, my child is only drunk." The emphasis on harmful effects of other drugs by school drug abuse and education programs has apparently enhanced the use of alcohol and the result has been an increase in alcohol abuse and alcoholism. Unfortunately, many youths believe that the abuse of alcohol is a "less harmful" means of dealing with peer pressures, family problems, and social aggressiveness.

Boston is the only major city in the country that does not have a security system. There are alarm systems in only 33 of the city's 204 school buildings. Five of these systems were stolen during 1973.

A considerable amount of food was also stolen from Boston schools, that year, including 161 pounds of coldcuts, 580 pounds of hotdogs, 211 pounds of ham, 186 pounds of sausage, 230 pounds of chicken, 1,048 pounds of butter, 60 pounds of pastrami, 65 pounds of salisbury steaks, and 18 fully cooked turkeys.

In 1973, 139 teachers in the Boston public schools were assaulted and 664 vandalism incidents were reported resulting in the loss of thousands of dollars worth of equipment and the destruction by arson of two high school facilities. Overall cost for that year exceeded $1 million.

As of September 12, 1974, violence and vandalism in the schools of Boston, Massachusetts increased drastically when school officials began busing more than 18,000 students under a federal court order to desegregate Boston schools. Opposition to the desegregation order has resulted in violent conflict between black and white students and their respective communities. The impact on students and the educational process in the city has been devastating. Attendance at newly integrated schools has at times dropped by more than 65 percent. Some parents have permanently removed their children from school and in many schools students and teachers have joined in opposition to desegregation.

A report prepared for the Boston School Committee has revealed that since the implementation of the desegregation order, at least 10,000 students, most of them white, have left Boston's public schools. School officials have stated that several of the city's 200 schools may be forced to close and cutbacks in teaching and other staffs made necessary. The withdrawals represent more than 10 percent of Boston's 94,000 elementary and secondary school students. Some 7,529 students are no longer in the public school system; 3,047 have transferred to private or parochial schools; 927 have been discharged to seek employment, and, 3,555 are listed as dropouts.

An interesting feature of the Northeastern region was the number of categories of offense which, reportedly, declined, as compared to the other three regions. This may be attributed to incomplete returns from New York City or that the incidence of such offenses as student assaults on students and burglary and larceny have been so historically high in this region that percent increase is falling while actual frequency remains disturbingly high. The Subcommittee will give further examination to this development.

## B. NORTHCENTRAL

For purposes of our survey the Subcommittee included the States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin in the Northcentral region.

The Subcommittee sent a total of 172 questionnaires to school districts in every State in this region and received 68 percent of these in return. The data compiled from these returns demonstrates a significant increase in almost every category of school violence and vandalism throughout this region.

The Subcommittee's preliminary findings are that between 1970 and 1973:

(A) Assaults on teachers in schools increased by 52.4 percent;
(B) Assaults on students in schools increased by 20.5 percent;
(C) Number of weapons found in schools increased by 6.7 percent;
(D) Rapes and attempted rapes in schools increased by 60 percent;
(E) Major acts of vandalism increased by 19.5 percent;
(F) Drug and alcohol offenses in schools increased by 97.4 percent; and
(G) Burglaries of school buildings increased by 2.1 percent.

The only survey categories which did not show an upward trend throughout these years were in the areas of homicide and robbery. The number of robberies, in fact, decreased by almost 8 percent since 1970. In all other categories, however, the incidents of school violence and vandalism in this region continues to grow. Moreover, the results of the Subcommittee study indicate that no area within the Northcentral region has been spared the costly results of this increase in school crimes.

The St. Louis, Missouri school system, for instance, spent $250,000 in 1974 on repairs for buildings and equipment damaged by vandals. Over $7,000 worth of damage was caused by elementary school pupils at one school in the city's West End district. In a single wave of destruction these youngsters threw more than 100 desks out of windows, smashed several filing cabinets and pushed the school piano down a flight of stairs.

The Subcommittee study found 16 shootings in Kansas City schools during the 1972–73 school year. The security manager for the school system spoke of the increasing problem of weapons in his schools:

> We have a major problem and it's a tough one to beat. Some kids carry guns for protection. Others carry guns for extortion attempts. Some say they brandish guns as a status symbol.

The District Attorney for Kansas City announced that he was preparing a booklet for school administrators and teachers which would explain procedures for handling and apprehending students suspected of using drugs. The District Attorney explained, "I just don't know what else to do. Drugs have increased sharply in the last two years and we have to have something for the teachers to go by."

The Chicago school system reported a total of 2,217 assaults on teachers in their schools between 1971 and 1973. In one instance an 8th grade student brought a set of .45 and .38 pistols to school where he killed his principal and wounded a school security official. Security personnel in Chicago schools are now permitted to carry firearms for their protection. Another firearm related incident in Chicago schools last year involved a 16 year old high school student who was shot to death when he refused to pay another student a 5-cent card game bet.

One teacher reported that a great deal of the violence and vandalism within the city schools are caused by expelled, suspended, or truant students who return to the schools during the day:

> They wait till lunchtime, then they sneak in and mingle with the students. You can tell which is which because the outsiders don't always know the rules. Anyway they smoke dope, threaten the kids and try to mess with the girls.

The Subcommittee also learned that over $3 million was spent in 1973 to repair or replace damaged or stolen property in Chicago schools. Several teachers and students indicated that at least part of this violence and vandalism within the schools can be attributed to gang activity. The number of gangs in Chicago has been estimated as high as 700 with several organized within the elementary school system.

The Detroit school system also reported serious problems with violence and vandalism. The school Security Department states:

> For years, the main problem of building security was the protection against minor vandalism. Broken windows, ink and paint materials spilled about rooms, occasional loss of equipment were the general trend. In the past 12 years, the problems have grown rapidly. We still face the occasional "rip-up" in schools, while the theft and burglary costs have skyrocketed.

In the 1972–73 school year over $1,000,000 was lost to destruction and theft of school equipment in Detroit. In that same period there were 483 serious assaults on students. A teacher at one east side junior high school states:

> Its just a sick place to be in. It's so chaotic, it's not like teaching at all. Sometimes I have to spend 40 of the 50 minutes of class time just getting the students to sit down. I'm hoarse from shouting when I leave school. I know I could lose my job for saying this but who minds losing a bad job?

Last year in Detroit, a 17 year old girl in a city high school was awarded $25,000 in damages for physical and psychological injuries following an incident where she was attacked by about thirty of her classmates who knocked her down, beat her and stabbed her with pencils. The motive for the incident was a feeling among these students that the victim was more attractive and had better grades.

A principal of a high school on the city's west side emphasized that most students are relatively well behaved and only a small percentage of the overall student population causes serious problems. This principal finds:

> They're usually students who are not doing well academically and students who have excessive absences.

In nearby Grand Rapids vandalism cost the school system $110,000 in 1973. In a letter to the Subcommittee the school board indicated that the installation of alarm systems, plastic windows and special lights was having some success in reducing vandalism losses.

A Duluth, Minnesota public school district of about 20,000 students estimated that window breakage alone costs $20,000 per year to repair. Burglaries resulted in equipment losses of over $10,000 per year.

The Cleveland Public Schools reported to the Subcommittee that 672 teachers were assaulted in its schools in the survey period while the number of narcotics violations being committed on school property increased from 26 in 1970 to 42 in 1973. Several years ago a 15 year old student at Franklin D. Roosevelt Junior High School in Cleveland was shot to death in a second floor boy's room by four of his classmates who fired six bullets from a rifle into his head. At Shaw High School in East Cleveland, a student fired four shots from a revolver at the school football coach who was standing in the hallway. On the day before this incident, the coach had reprimanded the student for reading a newspaper during class.

A school district in Cincinnati, Ohio reported to the Subcommittee that burglaries at the school increased from three in 1970 to thirteen in 1973 while the number of serious vandalism incidents rose from ten to eighteen in that same period. The Toledo Public School system found that the number of students involved in drunk and disorderly offenses, both on and off the school campuses, increased from seventeen to forty-eight in a three year period.

The Wichita Kansas Public School system told the Subcommittee that the number of windows being broken in their school building had increased by 300 percent between 1963 and 1973, and the overall cost to the system for vandalism and burglary had increased from $18,777 to $112,177 in that same ten year period.

The Security Police Report of the Indianapolis Public School system for 1973 reported 142 assaults on students and 19 assaults on teachers. One school building had over $3,000 in broken windows in that year alone.

In November of 1973, there were 18 burglaries of school buildings in the Indianapolis system with losses such as $275 tape records, $12 worth of orange juice, $315 in tape players, $74 in athletic equipment and a $245 adding machine.

A school counselor for the Des Moines Public School system in a letter to the Subcommittee states that local school officials are particularly concerned over three disturbing trends: the increasing possession, use and sale of narcotic drugs in the schools, the increasing number of vandalism incidents directed against school property, and, the consistently high percentage of dropouts within the system.

The Kenosha Wisconsin Unified School District No. 1 reported to the Subcommittee that the number of robberies within the school increased from 6 in the 1970–71 school year to 53 in the 1972–73 school year. The number of major vandalism incidents went from 69 to 89 over that same period. In the Green Bay Public Schools the number of weapons being confiscated by school officials increased from 25 to 39, and incidents of robbery and vandalism have both increased dramatically over the survey period. In the 1970–71 school year there were 15 offenses in the Eau Clair schools involving the possession or sale of narcotics. By 1973 the number of such offenses increased to 26.

It is important to emphasize that although the schools briefly discussed above are located in predominantly urban areas, the problem of criminal activity within schools is not limited to, or even necessarily more severe, in these particular institutions or in urban areas in general, than in suburban or rural districts. In a small town in Indiana, for instance, two boys were discovered operating an extortion ring in an elementary school which victimized more than 40 school children during the 1973 school year. A study conducted at a suburban high school in Illinois by the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine found that 34.1 percent of the students had used marijuana, 18.2 percent tried barbiturates, 15.7 percent used amphetamines, 26 percent used LSD or other phychedelics, 8.2 percent had tried cocaine and 4.7 percent had tried heroin. The Superintendent of the school stated:

> The superintendent that says he does not have a drug problem in his high school either is guilty of a shameful coverup, or he just does not know the facts.

It would be a serious mistake to infer from the few examples we have pointed out that violence and vandalism exists only in schools in the larger cities of the Northcentral region. On the contrary, the Subcommittee study has found very few schools within this region that do not have serious problems in this regard.

## C. SOUTH

For purposes of our survey the southern region includes the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The Subcommittee sent two hundred sixty-one questionnaires to school districts in the southern region. One hundred eighty-seven or 71.6 percent were returned, completed. This was the highest completion percentage of the four regions.

Our data indicate that all categories of school violence and vandalism offenses increased significantly between the 1970–71 and 1972–73 school years:

(A) Homicide increased by 25.4 percent;
(B) Rape and attempted rape increased by 28.4 percent;
(C) Robbery increased by 51.7 percent;
(D) Student assault on student increased by 276.9 percent;
(E) Student assault on school personnel increased by 316.4 percent; and
(F) Burglary and larceny increased by 28.1 percent.

The Subcommittee survey revealed dramatic evidence of the dropout phenomena in this region. Dropouts increased by 18.8 percent more than twice the increase of any other region. Expulsions, however, decreased by 5.9 percent. The "decrease" in expulsion rates may well reflect the application of the "force-out" practices which would account in part for the increase in "drop-out" rates in every region.

There appears to be no significant difference in the types of violent incidents in southern schools from those occurring throughout the country. We did learn of a rather shocking example of such conduct involving elementary school youngsters that vividly demonstrates the seriousness of problems confronting the school community. In April 1973, three third grade pupils, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, were charged with robbery for allegedly forcing two nine year-old classmates to pay nearly $1,000 in extortion payments over an eight month period. The three boys, two aged nine and one aged eleven, allegedly threatened their classmates with beatings or death if the money was not paid.

In some communities teachers and school officials are responding to the increased level and seriousness of violence by arming themselves. In fact, some schools are literally armed camps. For example, it has been reported by the Birmingham Schools Superintendent, Dr. Wilmer Cody, that last year so many school officials were carrying guns to school that he had to designate certain specified persons to carry firearms for their protection. School officials contended the guns were needed because outsiders, including violent gang members, were destroying school equipment and threatening the lives of students and teachers. In response to this dangerous situation, the Birmingham Board of Education banned all lethal weapons from school grounds unless specifically authorized by the Superintendent.

The possession of firearms and other lethal weapons in the schools is frightening, but even more startling is the growing number of reports of actual shootings in the schools. For example, in February 1973, in Richmond, Virginia, at the Armstrong High School, a 17 year-old boy was killed and a 14 year-old girl was wounded when caught in the cross-fire of a gun battle between two youths in a school corridor.

Lawlessness in this region's schools is also evidenced by the increasing level of personal violence, short of murder. Armed robbery, extortion and assault are not uncommon in many schools. Gangs of thugs are often involved in these crimes. For example, in September 1973, nine students at Northwestern High School in Prince Georges County, Maryland, including a blind 12th grader, were robbed by what authorities described as a "roving band" of armed teenagers! Similarly, at one District of Columbia high school, last year, three teenagers, one armed with a pistol, robbed the school bank at midday. The school principal claimed that fire regulations prohibited the school from locking its doors, however, the fire chief indicated that schools could arrange their doors to prevent entrance while simultaneously permitting quick exit in case of an emergency such as fire.

Likewise, vandalism of school property as well as that of school officials, teachers and students is increasing in this region. For example, during the 1972–1973 academic year, in Prince Georges County, Maryland. $267,000 worth of school property was either damaged or stolen. This cost to the school system was 14 percent higher than the previous year's loss of $226,000. We also learned that the maintenance cost of the Houston, Texas school security force increased from $20,000 in 1972 to $389,000 in 1973.

Similarly, in fiscal 1973, 46,810 window panes were broken in the District of Columbia schools at a cost of $621,660 and the Memphis Board of Education indicated in 1974 that in the previous 4 years vandalism had cost almost $4 million. The Broward County, Florida school board reported a 17 percent increase of assault incidents for the 1972–73 school year, including one murder. The number of arsons doubled compared to the previous year, and was responsible for losses of school equipment valued at nearly $207,000.

Furthermore, in March 1974, three teenage youths were arrested in Dale City, Virginia, elementary school after inflicting approximately $20,000 in vandalism. Police found nearly all the building's windows smashed, light fixtures ripped out, desks splintered and their contents strewn about, eight television sets and seven record players destroyed, and water standing throughout much of the building. One police officer said, "You name it and they did it".

One of the Subcommittee's primary concerns is the impact that the atmosphere of violence and vandalism in the school has on the ability of teachers to teach and students to learn. In this region, however, it appears that in addition to these concerns, the advent of school desegregation has had an important impact on the manner in which students and teachers are treated as well as student behavior in general. Numerous national and local southern organizations have studied this special aspect of the problem in some depth.

The NEA estimates there are as many as 50,000 black "push-outs" throughout the south. A June 1973 report on suspensions, expulsions, and dropouts in the Raleigh, N.C. public schools prepared by the Raleight Community Relations Committee gives some insight into the impact of desegregation on southern school children. Suspension records for the 1972–73 school year showed that black high school students composed 64 percent or 509 out of 791 dismissal cases in Raleigh schools. Comparisons of these figures with those of the two previous terms, showed that black high school suspensions had increased from 40.4 percent to 59 percent since 1970–71. The largest categories of offense were truancy and fighting which may be precipitated by the newly structured makeup of desegregated school populations.

The Raleigh Community Relations Committee observed several factors in their report which may present some insight into school violence and disruption in newly integrated schools both South and North:

> Nearly 100 parents, students, or other interested persons talked with RCRC Staff during this study. Most were blacks who spoke repeatedly of rejection and uneasiness as feelings associated with the schools.
>
> Black parents who made attempts to hold conferences with teachers, principals, or counselors spoke of lack of respect accorded them in many instances either because of direct insults or the general tone of their reception.
>
> Those parents who did not attempt to look into problems experienced by their children said they feared the reception they would receive or felt that there was no point in even trying.
>
> Black students talked of:
>
> (1) Verbal insults from students and Administrators;
>
> (2) Their feeling that they were not wanted at the schools, high schools in particular;
>
> (3) A general uneasiness.
>
> One student expressed this by saying "You just can't relax over there." A feeling of frustration and disappointment was also clearly apparent in most conversations.

During March 1973, 220 white children were removed by their parents from the Roger B. Taney Junior High School in Camp Springs, Maryland after a racial brawl. The racial tension was attributed to court ordered integration in January 1973 which resulted in the busing of 250 black students from Seat Pleasant, Maryland to Taney. Some black students and administrators said they saw the school as a white world hostile to the blacks, full of subtle and not-so-subtle racial slights and innuendoes that cut deep and have caused the hostilities to escalate on both sides. White students and their parents on the other hand said they felt generally that the influx of blacks had lowered the quality of teaching by causing teachers to spend increasing amounts of time disciplining black students.

Leon Hall, Director of the Southern Regional Council's School Desegregation Project addressed this issue during a 1973 National Education Association conference on "Student Displacement/Exclusion." Mr. Hall makes pointed reference to the experience of many black students in the southern region and to the findings of his organization's joint study with the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, on school conflict:

> You have young people today who for eight hours a day, nine months a year, are having to go to school facing racism, isolation, and unfair treatment with the disappearing number of minority teachers and administrators. But these students just aren't going to take any stuff. We have found that there are variances in the student's response to the situation they're in. From a preliminary inquiry we learned from students and the few teachers who would respond that the major problem in the average school in our region is conflict. Under the umbrella of conflict we found that the number one problem was conflict between students and teachers. Ranking number two was conflict between students and administrators. Ranking number three was conflict between students and students and the unfair enforcement of rules.

The findings of the Southern Regional Council with regard to conflict is dramatically underscored by the Subcommittee's survey.

These special problems in the Southern region emphasize the need, nationwide, to assure due process for teachers and students in all school proceedings, but particularly those of a disciplinary nature.

## D. WEST

For purposes of our survey the Subcommittee's Western region is comprised of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming, Guam, the Canal Zone and the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands and American Samoa.

Questionnaires were sent to 130 school districts in this region and 69.8 percent of them responded.

The Subcommittee found that in schools in the Western region between 1970 and 1973:

(A) Assaults on students increased 77.4 percent;
(B) Assaults on teachers increased 6.4 percent;
(C) Major acts of vandalism increased by 15.7 percent;
(D) Robberies increased by 98.3 percent;
(E) Burglaries increased by 2.7 percent;
(F) Rapes and attempted rapes increased by 52.3 percent;
(G) Homicides increased by 26.6 percent; and
(H) Drug offenses in schools increased by 18.1 percent.

Perhaps one of the best indicators of the rising tide of school violence in this region is the fact that the number of weapons being seized from students by school authorities increased by 90.3 percent from 1970 to 1973. Obviously, more and more students are becoming acutely aware of the escalating level of violence within their schools.

The Subcommittee also found an increasing concern among state and local school authorities throughout the region. The California State Department of Education, for example, commissioned a year-long state wide investigation of the problem by a special task force. The final report concluded that:

> Every relevant source of information studied by the Task Force indicated that general crime is a serious problem showing an unmistakable increase in the schools of the State. Vandalism in particular appeared to the Task Force to be a serious problem for most schools. Indications were that it was increasing in frequency although the rate of increase did not appear to be as great for vandalism as for some other types of school crimes.

The Superintendent of Schools for the City of Los Angeles, William J. Johnston, in a letter to the Subcommittee writes:

> The problems of juvenile crimes in our communities and on school campuses gives us serious concerns. It should be noted that assaults and batteries in campus related incidents increased 44 percent last year. Robberies on school campuses more than doubled, while a total of 167 incidents involved the use of weapons.

After an extensive, undercover investigation of 24 high schools last year, the Chief of the Los Angeles High School Juvenile Division estimated that, "80 percent of the students with whom police agents came in contact while posing as students and attending classes were using drugs of some kind." In the first four months of the 1972–1973 school year there were 60 gun episodes in Los Angeles schools, one of which involved the death of a Locke High School student. Last December a gun fight between two students at the Manual Arts High School campus left one 16-year-old dead and another 17-year-old badly wounded. A Los Angeles high school principal declared, "For teachers and students alike, the issue unfortunately is no longer learning but survival."

School and juvenile authorities attribute some of this increase in violence in Los Angeles schools to the presence of numerous well organized gangs in these institutions. The head of the Youth Services Division of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department stated last year that the schools are "virtually armed camps" as a result of violence from gangs. In the 1971–72 school year there were 200 gang related shootings, 29 of which were fatal. It has been estimated that Los Angeles has 150 gangs in the city, many of which are operating in the schools. One of the largest of these organizations is called the Crips. The name is a short form of Cripples which in turn is derived from the gang's trademark of maiming or crippling their victims. The Crips also have two auxiliary units: The Cripetts, composed of girl members, and the Junior Crips made up of elementary school children. A social worker working with the Los Angeles gangs says:

> The trend is toward even more violent acts. Our biggest problem is with the 8 to 11 year olds, not the teenagers. They're into everything—vandalism, assault, petty theft and extortion at school.

Los Angeles, of course, is not the only city in the Western region with gang related problems in its schools. In San Francisco many of the most organized gangs are found in Chinatown. Two years ago one of these gang leaders was assassinated by a rival 15 year old high school student who riddled his victim's body with seven shots from a .25 caliber pistol he had concealed in his pocket.

Although only about 1 percent of the youths living in Chinatown belong to these gangs they are capable of repeated serious acts of violence and disruption in the city schools. These groups have names like the Junior Wah Ching, reportedly found in Galileo and Washington High Schools, the Baby Wah Ching, made of 12 to 15 year olds, and the Suey Sing. In addition to this gang related violence, San Francisco experiences the usual kinds of unorganized mayhem found throughout schools in the Western Region. In the first two weeks of the 1972 school year for instance, one student was killed and five others wounded in knife attacks at three different San Francisco schools. Additionally, three other separate fights resulted in serious injuries to six other students. During January 1973, four high school students, three of them girls, were expelled for carrying guns.

In Sacramento a school disciplinary officer reported that instances of extortion are increasing faster than other forms of school crime. Most of the students involved in these crimes are in the 6th, 7th, or 8th grades and are apparently motivated by the "sheer delight of scaring the ——— out of some small kid."

The costs of vandalism in California are also extremely high. In 1971 Los Angeles lost $3,700,000 to intentional destruction and theft of school property, enough to construct two or three new elementary school buildings. Superintendent of Schools Johnston estimates that between 1968 and 1973 vandalism cost Los Angeles approximately $11 million.

The Orange County School system expended $615,288.05 on vandalism related repairs during FY 1973. Anaheim High School alone had over $124,000 in costs attributable to vandalism. One study estimates that the State of California will be spending well over $10,000,000 every year on vandalism repairs.

Although California is by far the most heavily populated State in the Subcommittee's Western region, and quite naturally therefore has the largest volume of violence and vandalism in the area, the remaining States also report serious crime problems in their schools. In the Seattle schools, for example, serious assaults increased by 70 percent and robbery by 100 percent between the 1970–71 and 1972–73 school years. In 1972 alone there were 1,886 crimes committed against students and school employees ranging from homicides to possession of firearms on the school grounds. Vandalism cost the Seattle schools over $1 million in 1972. A report on school security for the State of Washington finds:

> Additionally, the problem has taken a turn for the worse because our schools are no longer safe for the majority of students and faculty. Hardly a day goes by where an incident or incidents in our schools do not occur. Teachers are afraid, students are apprehensive, and parents are concerned with the mounting security related problems in our educational system.

The Boulder, Colorado, Schools reported $65,000 in annual vandalism losses and a 1972–73 security budget of $60,000. In 1970–71 that district had 17 robberies, but by the end of the 1973 school year that number had risen to 31. The Denver Public schools recently installed a silent alarm system and hired a full time security supervisor in an attempt to reduce its vandalism costs. The Administrative Director of the system states, "The installation of silent alarms is extremely difficult to finance within the parameters of a school budget."

Last September the Intermountain School in Brigham City, Utah was the scene of a series of fights among Indian students from different tribes. Police arrested 14 students and confiscated numerous knives and clubs after a particularly serious flareup at the school. School authorities also reported several attempts to burn down the school building. In 1972 Salt Lake County schools lost more than $400,000 in destroyed or stolen properties. This loss was estimated to be equal to the yearly operating costs of two medium sized elementary schools. A report prepared at the end of the 1973 school year by the Utah Association of School Administrators on violence in the State's schools found, "Dissent, disruption and violence are beginning to run rampant in some areas."

The Subcommittee found a total of 138 serious assaults on students and 16 assaults on teachers during the 1972–73 school year in the Phoenix Union High School System in Phoenix, Arizona. That same system also reported $35,000 in vandalism related damages. The Roosevelt School District, also located in Phoenix, had over $16,000 in educational equipment stolen in FY 1973 and suffered an additional $16,760 loss from equipment being maliciously damaged.

In Las Vegas, Nevada, the Clark County School District reported an increase in the number of narcotic offenses being committed on school property from 38 in 1970 to 134 by 1973. In the same period burglaries increased from 79 to 200, and major vandalism incidents from 19 to 671.

The Subcommittee survey of the Western Region indicates that the increasing trend of violence and vandalism found throughout this area is at least as serious, if not more so, than the other three regions of the country. Although, the survey results show that the extent of the problem may vary somewhat between the extremely critical situation in some larger, urban and suburban areas and the less extreme problem in some of the more sparsely populated states, it should be understood that while the level of destruction and violence may differ, it has increased over the last several years to unacceptable levels throughout this area.

## FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Legislation proposing Federal financial assistance to local education agencies in order to reduce and prevent school crimes was first introduced in the 92nd Congress by Representative Jonathan Bingham of New York as H.R. 3101. This legislation titled, "The Safe Schools Act" was slightly revised and reintroduced in September 1971 as H.R. 10641. Hearings were held on both bills by the General Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor in the fall of 1971 but no report was issued on the legislation.

The "Safe Schools Act" as initially proposed would have established a new category of grants for schools under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to assist schools in the development and implementation of locally approved school security plans to reduce crime against the school, their children, employees, and facilities. Conceivably, the grants could have been used to develop greater professionalization and expansion of school security forces; increase adult presence in the schools through the use of trained parent patrols; install surveillance devices and alarm systems as crime deterrants; and improve student identification and accounting methods.

The "Safe Schools Act" was reintroduced in the 93rd Congress as H.R. 2650, with provisions identical to H.R. 10641 in the previous Congress. The proposal had over 20 cosponsors. Hearings were again held by the General Subcommittee on Education, but no report was issued. A companion measure, S. 485, was introduced in the Senate but there was no further Senate action. Later in the 93rd Congress, the "Safe Schools Study Act," H.R. 11962 was introduced. It required the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct a "full and complete investigation and study" of crime in elementary and secondary schools. H.R. 11962 was subsequently adopted by the House Committee on Education and Labor as an amendment to H.R. 69, the "Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1974." A Senate version of the amendment was adopted during Senate consideration of the ESEA amendments of 1974 (S. 1539). The conference report subsequently adopted the provisions of the House bill except for portions of the Senate version which required the study to cover the period of enactment through fiscal year 1976.

The ESEA amendments of 1974 were signed into law August 21, 1974 with the Safe School Study provision intact (P.L. 93-380).

Reaction to Federal "Safe Schools" legislation has been mixed. School security personnel charged with immediate responsibility for dealing with criminal offenses in the schools continue to be very supportive of "safe schools" proposals in Congress. The majority of our responses from school security directors across the country included recommendations that the initial "Safe Schools Act" be enacted into law as a significant step toward winning the battle against crime in the schools. We have found educators to be generally supportive of the "safe schools" concept but they tend to emphasize the necessity for broader, long range programs to combat school crime. Dr. Harvey Scribner, former Chancellor of New York City Schools in one example of such sentiment stated:

> Principals are legitimately concerned about the social and educational effects of acts of violence and crime which take place in the school or in its immediate vicinity. My personal conclusion, however, is that the placing of security guards in the schools does not represent a permanent, long-range solution to the problem of unsafe schools.
>
> It is, at best, merely a short-range and necessarily limited treatment of a symptom. Security guards, whatever their numbers, will not, in my judgment, contribute in any substantial way to elimination of the factors which cause schools to be unsafe.
>
> A community school superintendent in New York City has observed—accurately, I believe—that you can make a school an armed camp, and that won't make it secure. Nor, I would add, will it enhance the school's ability to educate.
>
> Although school authorities clearly must make all possible efforts to make schools safe by using a variety of means, the major emphasis should be the development of long-term solutions to the causes of unsafe schools.
>
> The Federal Government, through legislation, can help significantly by encouraging the development of safe-schools efforts which seek to reach below the surface of the problem. It is my hope, in short, that the Congress, in promoting safer schools, will place more emphasis on the support of substantive programs designed to deal with the causes of unsafe schools than on the funding of efforts; that is, security guards, burglar alarms, special equipment, et cetera, which deal primarily with the symptoms of crime.
>
> It is not a matter of either-or; it is a matter of emphasis. In particular, I would strongly recommend the support of programs which involve students, and parents as well, in the design and operation of programs for safe schools.

Other reservations that resulted in Congress not approving an operational program were motivated by concern that such a program might prematurely be sponsored at the federal level, when state and local prerogatives and existing solutions had not been fully investigated or more definitive information on the nature and extent of the problem had not been developed.

The Subcommittee has determined through this preliminary survey of crime in the schools that federal legislation in this critical area is warranted. But our examination of available data suggests that while previous "safe schools" legislative proposals may serve as a point of departure, realistic and effective federal legislation cannot be finalized without further exhaustive Congressional investigation.

## STATE LEGISLATION

A variety of legislative proposals have been enacted into law at the state level to curb school crime. The most comprehensive law is the Florida "Safe Schools Act" passed by the Florida legislature in 1973. The Act authorizes a program of financial assistance to school districts for the development of programs to cope with school security problems such as vandalism and disruptive students. Appropriations for the Act amounted to $1.85 million in 1973 and 1974 respectively. Funding under the Florida Act is allocated through a formula based on the number of full time students in a given school district for the year prior to the funding. In order to receive funding, the school district must submit a project plan for approval by the Commissioner of Education. Projects to date have provided security equipment, identification cards for students and security personnel and have enabled the development of programs in such areas as human relations and class management. The Florida House Committee on Education is currently developing a proposal for a change in the Safe Schools Act that would aim less at "hardware" for security equipment and more at innovative programming to deal with disruptive students.

The Education Commission on the States reports some 100 proposals enacted by states in 1973 and 1974 that generally relate to student control and school safety and security. The following are several examples:

| *Year and State* | *Legislation* |
|---|---|
| 1973: **North Carolina** | S. 286. A resolution directing a Senate committee to study the problem of student unrest, discipline, in public schools. |
| 1973: **Oklahoma** | H.B. 1276. Allows for the suspension of pupils for possession and allows for the search and seizure of dangerous weapons and controlled dangerous substances. |
| 1974: **Virginia** | H.J.R. 84. Authorizes the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council to make a study to determine the need for State funds to establish programs to prevent disruption in public schools. |
| 1974: **Hawaii** | H.D.1; H.B. 390. Establishes a statewide school security patrol charged with the prevention of vandalism, hijacking and drug sales and use and other activities inimical to the pursuit of academic interests. |
| 1974: **North Carolina** | H.B. 2008. Increases from $50 to $300 the reward that boards of education are authorized to offer for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons in cases of vandalism or larceny within public schools. |
| 1974: **Indiana** | H.B. 1793. Makes it a misdemeanor for any person to refuse to leave the premises of any institution established for the purpose of the education of students when such persons is causing a disturbance—if requested by the principal or the assistant principal. |

Additionally, the Commission reports that the following relevant legislation has been proposed at the State level:

| | |
|---|---|
| California | A.B. 34. Requires the Department of Justice to study vandalism and conduct pilot programs to deal with vandalism and to report to the legislature by 1977 regarding suggested programs to reduce vandalism. |
| Maine | L.D. 11. An act restricting the use of weapons in public schools. |
| South Carolina | H2158. A bill to prohibit vandalism on school property and while on school buses and provides for penalties. |
| South Carolina | H2159. Amends the South Carolina Code to provide penalties for breaking and entering school property and committing vandalism thereon. Provides for rewards leading to the arrest and conviction of violators. |
| New York | A288. Requires school employees to make written reports of assaults upon them by pupils. |
| Indiana | S.B. 338. A bill to control specific school disturbances. |
| Indiana | H.B. 1365 and 1515. Bills to define procedures for the removal of persons from school property who are interfering with normal school procedures. |

## CONCLUSION

The preliminary findings of the Subcommittee present clear and dramatic evidence that violence and vandalism in the schools of our country has reached a level of crisis that demands immediate comprehensive review and legislative action. To accomplish this the Subcommittee will proceed immediately with hearings to obtain the views of all affected parties, and to develop a comprehensive record that will serve as a basic reference source on the many interrelated components of these very complex problems. As evidenced in this preliminary report, the etiology of school violence is as complex as the structure of our society. We intend to examine thoroughly the categories of school problem areas which we believe must be singularly and collectively understood before any legislative proposal can be finalized. These areas include pushouts, dropouts, forceouts, truancy, gang violence and terrorism, student rights, teacher rights, parent rights, alcohol and drug abuse, community involvement, and alternative approaches to correct the devastating patterns of violence in our nation's schools.

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## CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ACT OF 1975

Testimony of Hon. Richard L. Ottinger of New York
at Joint House-Senate Hearings

Thursday, June 19, 1975

Mr. Chairman, I am happy to have the opportunity to share with you and the other members of the House and Senate subcommittees my views on the need for comprehensive child care legislation in the 94th Congress.

When I returned to the House this year, after an absence of four years, one of my first legislative proposals was the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1975 (H.R. 1350). This bill had been authored and introduced in the previous Congress by Congressman John Brademus and my predecessor, Congressman Ogden Reid and because this is a subject very dear to his heart, I felt committed to try and continue the fine work he started in this area. My bill is virtually identical to H.R. 2966, of which I am also a co-sponsor.

There are serious deficiencies in the quality of day care services available in the U.S. today, and those licensed facilities that do exist across the country cannot begin to meet the crying demand for such services, particularly in view of present economic circumstances in which both parents in many families are either choosing to or being forced to work in order to keep pace with the rising cost of living. As more and more mothers of small children return to work, the need for group facilities grows more acute every day. This problem is particularly severe in low and moderate income areas, where families simply do not have the financial resources to pay the established fees for individual child care and must rely on group facilities where economies of scale result in considerably reduced rates for their children.

The bills you have under consideration at this time contain sweeping new provisions for delivering adequate child care services and strengthening the role of the family as a basic unit of our society. It is particularly important that this legislation provides for early childhood education and development, not just custodial services. All studies indicate that a child's future is most influenced by his early childhood environment. It is therefore vital that this legislation contemplates such proposals as health care both to children and expectant mothers, family counseling services, educational programs for young people and their parents, food and nutritional services, special attention to the unique needs of children from racial and ethnic minority groups and migrant workers' families and many other important provisions.

It is also important that child development centers be available to all income groups, the more affluent paying in accordance with their ability. This will avoid centers becoming ghettoized, permit access to middle income families who greatly need them and provide for economic viability of the centers.

Both H.R. 1350 and H.R. 2966 would establish within the Office of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare an Office of Child and Family Services to coordinate all programs of this type administered by the Department and to assume the responsibilities of the present Office of Child Development. Both bills would also create a Child and Family Services Coordinating Council to insure that the activities of the various offices operate in an orderly and complementary fashion and to recommend priorities for Federal funding of research and development in these areas.

In my own district in Westchester County, New York, there has been established the Day Care Council of Westchester, Inc., a non-profit, membership corporation concerned with expanding and improving day care for children in the County. The Council strives for the integration of education, social service, health and recreation programs which serve the best interests of children and help to strengthen family life. This group has recently found that there are at least 9,000 children in the area who are seeking day care who are not now getting it, and there are at least 20,000 more who would be eligible if it were available. In the 30 non-profit day care centers now in operation in Westchester there are approximately 1,900 children enrolled. Nearly every center has a waiting list, and the various proprietary facilities in the County are simply too expensive for those families that are most in need of their services. There are 76,809 married women now working in Westchester, and close to 9,000 of these have children under the age of six. In 1973 some $38 million was spent for AFDC in the County. Many of the mothers receiving this form of public assistance would become taxpaying members of the workforce if adequate day care facilities were available.

This brings up another important point with respect to day care, and that is the most unrealistic income criteria that is presently used in determining eligibility for services. Mrs. Inez Singletary, Executive Director of the Day Care Council of Westchester has pointed out to me that this is one of the most serious problems with respect to day care in our County and that there are simply too many mothers who leave public assistance and are then forced to return because the salaries they receive when they take jobs disqualify them for day care services. I believe that the requirements these bills place on prime sponsors would help to alleviate this problem through the special provisions made for children from disadvantaged circumstances.

Mr. Chairman, as you know, in 1971 the Congress succeeded in passing comprehensive day care legislation, only to have it vetoed by then-President Nixon. I believe the 94th Congress has a serious obligation to develop a national policy and commitment on day care and to establish proper vehicles for the coordination and implementation of services. The gains that can be made by future generations due to the stimulation and motivation provided by good day care programs are impossible to calculate. I am pleased to be able to participate in these hearings, and I pledge my complete cooperation to you in the effort to enact the Child and Family Services bills.

Senator **Mondale**. Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned.]

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